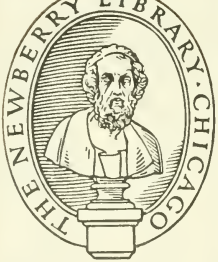
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REV'D. M. L. WAGNER

THE CHICAGO SYNOD AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

By MARTIN L. WAGNER

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Preface.

THE author of this book, the Rev'd. M. L. Wagner, has brought to light, and preserved historical data of great value to the church. The material shows, thoroughness in the investigation of the original sources, as well as great care in selecting the same.

Much time was spent in unearthing, gathering, and editing the great mass of matter, pertaining to the church of those early times. The work sets forth the heroic struggles of the fathers to preserve the truth.

The manuscript was given, by the author, to the Chicago Synod for publication. The committee having this matter in charge sends forth the book with the hope that it will bring much needed enlightenment relative to the planting and developing of the Church of the Reformation on American soil.

THE REV'D. Z. M. CORBE,
THE REV'D. J. R. E. HUNT,
THE REV'D. M. E. HABERLAND,
The Committee.

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Introduction.

By G. H. GERBERDING, D. D.

"Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness leaning upon her Beloved?"
Song of Solomon 8, 5.

THESE words have often been applied to the Church in her strange and varied history and experience. Down in the wilderness she has often been. Up from the wilderness she has always come. Down she has always gone when she ceased to lean on her Beloved, and sought to nourish herself from earthy and human sources. In the wilderness she has always wandered when she followed the fox-fires and rush lights of human reason, unaided by the Light of the world. Up from the wilderness she has always come when she despaired of her own resources and strength, ceased to lean on her own understanding and leaned again on her Beloved. This new book with its strange story is another demonstration of the old truth in the above text.

The writer of this history had a difficult task. The original seeds and roots of what is now the Chicago Synod were scattered in distant and obscure places. It required painstaking digging, searching and sifting to find them. The results of this labor of the historian are before us. They are intense in interest and pregnant with practical lessons. These things were written for our admonition. May the Church take them to heart and profit by them.

Here we learn much concerning the unknown and forgotten beginnings of the Lutheran Church in the South.

Mistakes were made there also. May the Church never repeat them.

What a graphic picture is here of the early settlers of Indiana and Ohio. Their isolation, their hardships, their struggling in the solitude, alone with nature, did not make them religious. Nothing here of the refining, edifying, renewing and elevating influence of nature. They were not lifted by nature up to God. They needed the supernatural brought through Word and Sacrament, carried by the messengers of Christ, lifting their voices in the wilderness. Here we meet the Heyers and the Henkels, the Rudisills and the Stirewalts. Here we are reminded again how the fathers of the Tennessee Synod stood for sound doctrine, studied and loved our catechisms and confessions, gave them first to the American Lutheran Church in English and contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

These sturdy pioneers were heroes of the faith. Amid privation and poverty, ridicule and opposition they threaded the wilderness, fought against wild beasts, fever and ague, frost and storm, content to be homeless here for the Kingdom of heaven's sake. In the early spring time they saddled their horses in Tennessee or the Carolinas, bade a sad farewell to weeping wives and children, with Bible and catechism and hymn book and Luther's postil in their saddle bags, they were off for a six months homeless itinerary in Indiana without promise or prospect of worldy ease or emolument. They labored and suffered. They spared not themselves. They preached and prayed and catechised and administered the sacraments wherever they could gather a few hearers. In barns, in cabins, in school houses or under the open sky they ministered to the souls of men. Their story puts us to

shame with our love of ease and earthly recompense. We need to read, mark and earnestly apply the lessons of this book.

But good men make mistakes. The founders of the Tennessee Synod were not as wise as the founders of the Missouri Synod. Evangelization without education is doing only a part of the Church's work. The teaching office, the teaching books, the teaching family, the teaching church-school are needed to make permanent and sure the work of the evangelist. While our pioneers deserve all credit for trying to supply the most needed literature, they did not seem to see the great need of the church-school. There was a long and losing wait before the Academy, the College and the Theological Seminary came into being. Had they planted log schools like the Missourians did the history would have been different.

Another serious weakness was that they were not clear on the doctrine of the ministry. They seemed to have no conception of the call and of the proper relation between pastor and congregation. Even after congregations had been gathered, they were neither organized nor supplied with settled pastors. The band of itinerant preachers supplied all the congregations in turn, each pastor taking his turn in going over the whole circuit. With such a loose and unchurchly arrangement it was impossible to do thorough and permanent pastoral work.

Another mistake transplanted from Tennessee to Indiana was that no provision was made for christian beneficence. The congregations were not instructed as to the great church of which they formed infinitesimal parts, of the mission and duty of the church in the world, of the Kingdom of God to be builded and of the relation and responsibility of each congregation and of each individual

member to this general work. There was no outlook, no great hope, no training in giving and working for the grand whole. This mistake was a serious hindrance to growth in grace, and kept the congregations ignorant, narrow and selfish. And this spirit was carried into the early synods. It required several generations to get the congregations trained out of this selfish narrowness. In fact there is much of it left to this day.

On account of the unsettled pastorates, the roving and restless ministry that it fostered, other evils followed. While the preacher was a traveling evangelist rather than a settled pastor there could be at best only occasional lectures or talks on the catechism and its teachings. Regular, systematic instruction — from the beginning to the end of the book was out of the question. And so that good, effective Lutheran custom of thorough catechization was neglected more and more until, in most places, it became obsolete. But something must take its place. The earliest preachers were wont to stop long enough where there was a group of hearers, to preach a series of doctrinal sermons and receive into the congregation those who accepted and confessed the doctrines and professed a heartfelt desire to live henceforth as becometh those who have and hold such faith. Their successors became more and more lax. Doctrinal preaching was neglected. Hortatory and rousing sermons took its place and by and by it became the regular custom "to hold a series of meetings" and "sing in" new members without any previous instruction. The results were ruinous to sound and spiritual Lutheranism.

The most serious drawback of all to the Lutheran cause in Indiana was the doctrinal defection of its two leaders. The Rev. E. S. Henkel, so different from his

noble progenitors and relatives, apostatized from the old faith and for a time was a Universalist. The Rev. E. Rudisill embraced and preached Destructionism. The whole Lutheran Church and cause in Indiana received a staggering blow. Confusion reigned in the congregations, some laymen followed one or the other of the apostates, others left the Lutheran Church and went into churches of a different faith, still others lost all faith and became agnostics and unbelievers. But a faithful remnant studied the Word, the catechism and the old devotional books, prayed, believed and rejoiced in the Lord. But oh the blighting influence, the ruin and wreckage of false doctrine. The Church was in the wilderness.

But she did not die. Lutheranism has a strong vitality. It dies hard. Nay it never dies while it is true to its name and faith. And "the ears of the hearers are often more pure than the lips of the preachers."

And so our Church did not die. God raised up true witnesses. Neither the heresy, nor the unholy ambitions of the old leaders could kill the Lutheran Church. And what a warning against pride, ambition for leadership, desire to rule which grows into rule or ruin have we here in these men. A drastic warning to self-seeking ambition in those who do not live near to the cross and have cold hearts even while they preach to others. A sound faith, a warm heart and a holy life must go together.

The old weak and poorly organized Synod of Indiana died. The Union Synod, disappointed as to its purpose, torn and distracted, was disbanded. The sainted Dr. Passavant saw the sorrows of this part of Zion and from far off Pittsburg counselled the good and true new leaders. The General Council was organized. Help came from that quarter. The new Indiana Synod united with that

body. Good men came from the Philadelphia Seminary. A new hope and a new life came into our cause. Opportunities for enlargement came. The great cry was for more good men. And then, in God's good time the Chicago Seminary was opened. The Indiana Synod became the Chicago Synod. In ten years fifteen congregations were organized. And now there is life and hope and forward movement on every side. Colburn Academy has made a noble beginning and is big with promise. The Chicago Seminary is on the eve of a great future. The rustling in the tops of the mulberry trees is an earnest of a greater wind from the spirit of God. Now if only the spirit of self-seeking could be kept out, if each would learn to esteem the other better than himself, if each one could take Passavant's motto for his own and ever strive "to live, to love, to labor," then would the history of the next twenty-five years be devoid of the narration of the mistakes and blunders of the past; then would the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; then would He establish the work of our hands, yea the work of our hands, He would establish it.

COTTAGE REST, GRAND JUNCTION, MICH.

May the fifth, 1909.

PART I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE FIELD

CHAPTER I

Colonization and Preparation

Chapter I.

Colonization and Preparation.

According to the best sources of information the first Europeans that set foot on what is now Indiana soil were a party of French Canadians who sailed up the great lakes in 1670, and, landing on the southern shore of Lake Michigan, explored the neighboring regions. They were missionaries bent upon the conversion of the natives to the Roman Catholic faith. They made no attempt at colonization. In the course of a few years these were followed by others, missionaries, adventurers and fur-traders, who extended their journeys far into the interior of the state. The first trading posts established were along the Maumee and Wabash rivers, about the year 1700. The most important of these was Vincennes, the oldest town in the state. Another was Ouiatenon, not far from the present site of La Fayette. It never assumed much importance, and eventually became extinct. The third was near the present site of Fort Wayne.

The Maumee and Wabash rivers were the highway for these missionaries, adventurers and fur-traders in their expeditions from Canada to the Mississippi and the Gulf

of Mexico. The trading posts were designed chiefly as places for barter with the Indians, to furnish halting places for the traders and rovers of the wilderness, and to establish the claims of France to the fertile valley of the Mississippi. It was not until 1725 that Vincennes assumed any importance.

The first settlement made in Illinois, also by the French, was a mission at the village near Starved Rock, in 1682. It was named Kaskaskia. Within three or four years it was removed to the site of the present Kaskaskia, near Chester. Soon after missions were established at Cahokia and two or three neighboring points.

At the close of the French and Indian War, 1754–1763, the territory east of the Mississippi known as New France, was ceded to England, and that west of that river to Spain. At the time of this cession there were within the region embraced by Indiana and Illinois about two hundred white families.

In 1778 Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia sent an expedition under General George Rogers Clark against the British posts west of the Alleghanies. He succeeded in capturing Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, and thus added an immense fertile territory to that Colony. By virtue of this conquest the western boundary of the United States was fixed at the Mississippi river by the treaty of Paris, in 1783. Virginia subsequently ceded the whole region to the general government, and in 1787 it was organized into the Northwest Territory, with ample provisions for free schools, and a guarantee for the free exercise of religion. Slavery was forever prohibited in this Territory, and these wise provisions in the Ordinance of 1787 had much to do in inducing settlers to locate in this region.

The first settlement not made by the French within the bounds of Indiana was at Clarksville on the Ohio river, in 1786. It was named after General Clark, who also had received a grant of a large tract of land bordering on the Ohio, in Clarke county, for military services. The location of Clarksville proved to be unsuitable and it never assumed much importance.

In 1800 Indiana was detached from the Territory of Illinois, and organized into Indiana Territory with General William Henry Harrison as the first governor, and Vincennes the Territorial capital. At that time the population was 4875.

In 1804 Fort Dearborn was built at the mouth of the Chicago river. In 1809 Illinois was organized as a Territory and Kaskaskia was made the territorial capital. The population was about 10,000.

The settlement and development of these Territories was at first very slow, notwithstanding their immense natural resources. The settlers were in a defenseless condition, and the Indians were very hostile, being instigated by the British agents in the north and west, who supplied them with firearms and ammunition. The British still held some of the posts in the extreme north and west, contrary to the stipulations of 1783. Tecumseh, a wily chief, was organizing the western tribes into a powerful confederacy for the purpose of exterminating the white settlers. The notorious Simon Girty, who had cast his lot with the Indians, also exerted all his power and influence to arouse the savages against the settlers. Finally the attitude of the Indians became so hostile that Governor Harrison decided upon severe measures. After a fruitless effort at peaceful negotiations with the chiefs at Vincennes, where treachery on the part of the Indians

was foiled by the vigilance and foresight of Governor Harrison, and the alertness of his soldiers, he marched an army against the Prophet's town,[1] about a mile from the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, intending to secure a treaty or strike a blow. Harrison halted his army for the night on the banks of Burnett's Creek, where he expected a conference with the chief's the next day. But early in the morning of November 7, 1811, he was furiously attacked by the Indians, who, concealing themselves in the tall grass, had surrounded the camp. After a hard fought battle the savages were defeated and driven off. Security for the settlers might now have been assured, but the war with Great Britain, which began the next year, and in which the Indians allied themselves with the British, prevented any protection until after the establishment of peace in 1815.

In Illinois the same hostile conditions prevailed. A number of stockades were erected for the protection of the settlers. Fort Russel, near Edwardsville, in Madison county, marked the northern boundary of the settled portions of the state. When war was declared, the British attacked Fort Dearborn, which surrendered on August 15, 1812, and the stockade was burned to the ground. Thereafter the Indians in the central part of the state became very hostile, and several expeditions against them were necessary to bring them to terms.

When the clouds of war had disappeared, and peace established with both Briton and Savage, immigrants from the eastern, middle and southern states and from Europe, poured into this region. The southern portions.

[1] The Prophet, Elkswatawa, was Tecumseh's brother, a vile imposter, who had co-operated with Tecumseh to destroy the settlers.

though far less fertile than the northern, were first settled. From the banks of the Ohio river, which was the highway for the colonists from the east, they pushed northward into the interior. Venturesome pioneers penetrated far northward into the almost interminable forests, and returned with glowing accounts of the fertile and well watered regions of that section of the territory. Overland in great Conestoga wagons, and driving their herds before them, came settlers from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, entering the eastern borders of Indiana, establishing their homes and subduing the wilderness. From the sunny southland came hardy pioneers, desiring to improve their temporal conditions, and to escape the baneful influence of slavery. Everywhere the woodman's ax was heard and the smoke ascended from hundreds of clearings, where the finest poplar, oak and walnut were consigned to the flames to make room for the corn and wheat of the thrifty farmer. Towns sprang up in all sections, many of them surviving only a generation, while others grew into populous cities and centers of commercial activity. Richmond and Corydon were founded in 1808, the latter becoming the territorial capital in 1813. In 1815 Fort Wayne was begun, it having been, prior to that time, only a trading post and military station. The next year Terre Haute was founded, and Indianapolis in 1818, becoming the state capital in 1825. The rapid growth of population in Indiana is indicated by the following statistics: In 1810 it was 24,250; in 1816, when admitted into the Union, it was 147,178. Five years later it was 250,000, and in 1830 the state had 343,031 inhabitants.

Illinois kept pace with the sister state. In 1810 the population was 12,282, in 1820, 55,162, and in 1830, 157,445. In 1819 Vandalia was founded and became the

state capital the next year, and retained this honor until 1839, when the capital was removed to Springfield.

All shades of religious beliefs were represented among these settlers. Roman Catholics were most numerous, but Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Quakers were also quite well represented.

The earliest colonists were French Catholics. Those at Vincennes were under the spiritual care of the priests residing at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The first resident priest in Indiana was Father Meurin. He resided at Vincennes, and besides ministering to the French residents, he also labored for the conversion of the Piankeshaw Indians, the head of which tribe was near that town. This was as early as 1749. How long he labored here is not known. In 1792 Father Benedict Joseph Flagert began to labor at Vincennes, but remained only three years. He found affairs in a deplorable condition. He set about vigorously to restore order and to establish his authority, but in vain. Religion had lost its influence and the church her authority over those people. The church building, probably erected under Father Meurin's administration nearly half a century before, was an old dilapidated log structure, open alike to sunshine and rain, and almost tottering. The congregation was, if possible, in a more miserable condition. Out of a population of about seven hundred souls, and after earnest admonition by the priest, only twelve could be induced to approach the holy communion during the Christmas festivities.

The Presbyterians were found in this region at quite an early day. In 1827 they had 17 pastors and 44 churches, and 1352 members in Indiana. The data for Illinois are not at hand, but doubtless they were equally well represented. The Methodists and Baptists were

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HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

Fort Wayne, Ind.

The General Council was organized in this church in 1867

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probably as numerous as the Presbyterians. They manifested great zeal in the prosecution of the interests of their respective denominations. Lutherans also were found in considerable numbers in these territories. As early as 1810 they were in Harrison county, Indiana, in Union county, Illinois, as early as 1817, and in Missouri, in Wayne, Madison and Perry counties, about the same time. The approximate numbers we have no means of determining. The records are scanty and very defective.

The spiritual, moral and social conditions of the people of these regions, during this early period, was far from the ideal. The first settlers were, as a rule, mere adventurers, who cared nothing for the claims of religion. As there was practically no public preaching, and no ministers of the Gospel to present, emphasize, and enforce the claims of religion and morality, the social and moral conditions could not improve. In these matters everyone followed the inclinations of his own will. The vast stream of immigration which poured into this region after the war of 1812–1815, did not materially improve these conditions, but on the contrary, rather gave strength to the prevalent scepticism and irreligion. That deplorable conditions existed until about 1830 in many sections is the concurrent testimony of the missionary pastors sent by the different denominations to labor in this region.

From a religious viewpoint, there were three distinct classes found among these early colonists — the openly defiant unbeliever and ungodly, the polished rationalists and the truly pious and devout.

The first class was very numerous, and for a long time largely in the ascendency in many sections of the state. Among these were found men of culture, learning and refinement, men whose private life was above re-

proach. But these were in the minority. The majority of these unbelievers were of the worst character, impure, blasphemous, and licentious beyond restraint. These logically carried out in their lives what the more cultured preached in their public utterances. It was an evil system which brought forth corrupt fruit.

The most prominent among the apostles of unbelief in this region were Robert Owen and his gifted son, Robert Dale Owen. Both were scholarly men, but disbelievers in the Christian religion. Robert Owen was an avowed unbeliever, and his son was an ardent believer in Spiritualism. He denied the supernatural origin of Christianity.

These two men came to Indiana in 1823, after having zealously disseminated their peculiar views by means of the press and public lectures. Theirs was a refined form of unbelief, so clothed as to command respect and win adherents. It was a fascinating unbelief, as it appealed very powerfully to the inclinations and desires of the natural man. Along with their religion of unbelief, they associated a form of socialism, which, however, proved a magnificent failure in actual trial in Owen's socialistic community on the Wabash, called New Harmony.

The salient points in the elder Owen's religious views are apparent in his challenge to the world which he first made at New Orleans, after delivering a course of lectures, and subsequently published throughout the whole country. In this challenge among other things he proposed to prove that "all the religions of the world have been founded upon the ignorance of mankind; that they are opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; that they have been the real source of vice, disunion and misery of every description; that they are now the only real

barrier to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most exalted sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family; and that they can be no longer maintained except through the ignorance of the mass of the people and the tyranny of the few over the mass."

Here was the challenge, and until it was met and disproved, it was the charter and warrant for the unbelieving class to continue in their course. It was not until 1829 that a man appeared who was ready to take up the challenge and meet Mr. Owen face to face and debate the merits of the question. This man was Alexander Campbell.

The influence of these apostles of unbelief was widespread and powerful. It affected all conditions of society. It is the testimony of creditable witnesses that in Kentucky, in cities of twelve hundred population, not enough people could be gotten together to hold a religious service. From evidence at hand we infer that in Indiana and Illinois conditions were no better. Christianity had become a term of opprobrium, a synonym for superstition and ignorance, and ministers of the Gospel were looked upon as men whose business it was to interfere with the personal liberties of the individual. All moral restraint had become removed, and the vices flourished and matured their bitter fruit. Society to a large degree became abandoned, and reprobate. The carnal nature ran riot until it exhausted itself in its own excesses.

Deplorable as was the moral condition of society produced by these tenets of refined but defiant unbelief, there was a determination on the part of many of this class to oppose and frustrate if possible all efforts to improve it. When Prof. Haverstick, in 1835, proposed to

preach in a German community in St. Clair county, Illinois, they replied, "We need no priests. Over yonder live some ignorant Germans who may be glad to have you come to them." When Rev. C. F. Heyer visited Shawneetown, Illinois, the same year, the guests at the hotel were so ungodly that Rev. Mr. Heyer spent the greater part of the night in the stable with the dumb beasts rather than submit to the insults of the blasphemers. This ungodly class were everywhere in evidence and looked upon all religious teaching as a means for subverting their personal liberty. They were determined to be let alone, and that nothing be said or done that might awaken their sleeping and seared consciences. The man most hated by this class was the minister of the Gospel, and the temperance lecturer. The minister had to temper his zeal and guard his expressions, lest he incur the displeasure of the bullies of the community, who regarded it as their special calling to administer chastisement upon all ministerial offenders against their code. It not infrequently happened that a minister or a temperance lecturer was assaulted and shamefully abused by those who had taken umbrage at his public remarks. Only those ministers who possessed a powerful physique and were ready in any emergency to use their fists were able to command respect, and could be fearless in their denunciation of vice. They were respected for their physical strength, but not for their office.

It is claimed by some authorities[2] that the term Hoosier originated from this custom of the bullies hushing the preachers in those early days. They were called Hushers, and in course of time the term took the form

[2] Prof. Holcomb, ex-State Superintendent Public Instruction, of Indiana.

Hoosier, and was indiscriminately applied to all residents of Indiana. If this explanation of the origin of this term be correct, it shows what a reputation the early Indianians had.

The second class were the polished rationalists. These were found mostly among the Germans. They professed religion, confessed in some instances the orthodox faith, and observed the external forms of religion punctiliously. They came from the Fatherland, which had but recently passed through the throes of Rationalism, and brought the baneful seeds with them, which, under the freedom and license of a new state, soon grew into a strong plant, maturing its fruit and exerting a pernicious influence upon religion in general. There was neither decency, consistency nor propriety among this class. They committed shocking indecencies in the name and under the sanction of religion which pained the devout, and arrayed the sceptical all the more against all forms of Christianity. In some localities, where these rationalists were numerous, congregations were organized, churches erected and pastors set over them to perform the functions of that office. But in a few cases these pastors lacked every virtue and qualification for the holy office. In character they were unfit. Their reputation was bad. Learning they had, but it was that of the head, and not of the heart. The private life of these men was impure, being drunken brawlers, profane, vicious and corrupt. Some were renegades, some were fugitives from justice, men whose offenses in the Fatherland compelled them to flee to America to escape the penalties of the law. Such was the character, and such were the qualifications of men who in not a few cases were elected pastors of congregations which claimed to be Lutheran, to preach

repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. And the worship was the merest sham, a mere form without spirit, saving truth, reverence or grace in it. After services on the Lord's day morning, the congregation, pastor, deacons, elders and all would retire to some hall or grove and spend the remainder of the day in revelry and debauchery.

Many of these congregations claimed to be Lutheran, but they were not, neither in doctrine nor practice. They rejected the distinctive principles of the Lutheran church and abused the Christian liberty which the Gospel confers. They had no synodical connection and their pastors were amenable to no ecclesiastical or synodical authority. In some cases the pastors were unordained men, in others, men who had been deposed from the ministry, but who still had possession of their ordination certificates. There were also men who, because of the lax practices that obtained in some of the eastern synods, secured license to preach, and then foisted themselves upon the churches in the West. Very often Lutheran congregations were imposed upon by these ecclesiastical freebooters. The stigma that these unlutheran congregations and these impostors in the ministry brought upon the Lutheran name, and upon the Lutheran church, has not yet been effaced.

But there were also true Christians to be found among these pioneers, Lutherans true to the name and the faith, godly men and women whose lives shone brightly in these regions and times of deep spiritual darkness. Their piety was deep, fervent and heartfelt and abounded in that "*Gemuetlichkeit*" for which the English language has not even a name. The Lutheran church had her representatives in these western wilds, who had been taught the true faith, and who adorned the same with a

godly life and conversation. They knew the power of truth in their lives. True they were not so numerous, but they were the salt that preserved the church from total corruption and decay. In them the spark of piety was kept alive. They had their bibles, which was God's Word, His message to them, and these they studied diligently. That Word was the fountain at which their thirst was quenched and their souls revived. They had their Catechisms which they taught diligently unto their children. They had their hymn books, from which they attuned their lips and souls in praise unto their Savior. These, although without the services of a pastor for years, were not led away from their faith. From such moorings the tides of infidelity and rationalism could not sweep them. They were anchored unto the Rock of Eternal Truth. Some of these congregations were so staunch in their Lutheranism that they would not receive the Lord's Supper from any minister unless he belonged to their church, nor could they be persuaded otherwise.

CHAPTER II

The Genesis of the Church

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The Genesis of the Church.

LUTHERANS were found in considerable numbers among the early settlers of the region under review. After the Louisiana purchase in 1803, "thousands of German families, as well as American citizens, induced by the flattering reports of the fertility of the lands of the west, and the advantageous offers made to settlers to secure for themselves a home almost without money and without price, sold their paternal possessions in North Carolina and migrated to Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois and other states and territories."[3] Besides these from North Carolina, there were thousands also who came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and from beyond the sea, to make their homes in the fertile valley of the Mississippi. It is with those who settled in Indiana, Illinois and adjacent parts that we are mostly concerned in this History. In this tide of immigration we find the Lutherans making their appearance in the southern portions of Indiana as early as 1810, when their cries went back to the land of their nativity praying for spiritual attention. In this year there already existed a congregation on Turtle Creek, an affluent of the Ohio, served by one Andrew Alms.[4] In Harrison county there were many Lutherans,

[3] Bernheim; 393.

[4] It seems that Alms was an impostor, as the Penn. Synod would have nothing to do with him. Min. Pa. Synod, 1812.

and doubtless one or more congregations existed in that county, prior to 1820. The Mt. Solomon congregation was probably organized prior to the war of 1812–1815, as the traditions are that the Indians were so hostile that the people went armed to church to be prepared for any emergency. In 1819 Rev. C. F. Heyer visited Harrison, Floyd and Jefferson counties, Indiana, and preached to the Lutherans he found there. As early as 1815 a congregation existed in Washington county, which earnestly petitioned the North Carolina Synod in that year for pastoral services. From this we infer that they were North Carolinians, and that the congregation dates back a year or more earlier. In 1820 a congregation existed on Fourteen Mile Creek, in Clark county, which petitioned the Tennessee Synod for preaching. They were visited by Rev. Christian Moretz in 1823, on his return from the meeting of the Tennessee Synod in Greene county, Tennessee, to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, his home. As early as 1818 we find North Carolinians in Knox county, who a few years later formed the nucleus of the present Mount Zion church.

The Synods of North Carolina and of Tennessee felt deeply concerned for the spiritual wants of these their children, and hearing their continual call for the bread of life, sent missionaries to them, who, themselves becoming enamored with the flattering advantages and prospects of the new country, likewise soon became classed among the new settlers. In this manner were congregations formed in the state.[5]

Wayne county received Lutheran immigrants from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the Fatherland as early as 1820. These located at Georgetown on The Walnut Level.

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5 Bernheim.

The name was subsequently changed to Germantown because of the large influx of Germans. The town was not laid out until 1832, and was named Georgetown after the surveyor, George Shortridge. These Lutherans early made provision for their spiritual and intellectual wants. In 1822 two acres of ground were purchased lying south of the public highway, at the northeast corner of this ground a log building was erected, which served for a school house and a house of worship. Part of the land was set apart for a burying ground, and a man by the name of Albright was the first person buried there. The congregation was organized in 1822 by the Rev. Jacob Gruber, who was a member of the Ohio Synod, and resided at Euphemia, now Lewisburg, Ohio. He served the congregation about ten years. In 1833 a brick church was erected which for many years was the largest church in that region of the country. The German Reformed assisted in the erection of this church, and in return were given its use every alternate Sunday. They had no title to the realty. The Reformed element became extinct in about 20 years.

About ten years after the organization of the Zions congregation, Germantown,[6] a number of Lutheran families from the vicinity of Miamisburg, Ohio, located in Henry county, west of Hagerstown. For a time they attended services at Zion's church, from eight to twelve miles distant. Services were also held in their homes, and during the summer season in their barns or in the groves. The interest manifested in these services led them to organize the St. Jacobs church, named after Jacob Kimmel, a godly pioneer of the community, and a

[6] The name of the post-office is East Germantown.

church building was erected which served the congregation as a house of worship for over half a century.[7]

As early as 1829 Lutherans settled in Parke and in Fountain counties. They came from North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. In 1831 they were organized into a congregation by Rev. Philip Henkel. This was the Philadelphia congregation, in Parke county. The first church was erected on Big Raccoon Creek. Before it was completed, fire destroyed it, but the congregation, undismayed by this misfortune, resolutely set to work and rebuilt the church, which served them as a house of worship for many years. About four years later the Phanuel congregation in Fountain county was organized.

Among the pioneers of Fort Wayne were a number of staunch Lutherans who were willing to make sacrifices that the church of their fathers might be established in their new home. Among these was Henry Rudisill, a Pennsylvanian, and whose wife was a descendant of the Henkels. Through their entreaties Rev. Jesse Hoover, of Woodstock, Virginia, a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, cast his lot among them, and laid the foundations of the Lutheran church of that city. But the workman soon fell a victim to the unhealthy climate, 1838, and his ashes repose near the place where he so faithfully labored. He was a good man and his death was sincerely mourned by the church at large.

The material upon which to base any extended and detailed account of the Lutheran immigration to the state, and of the founding of Lutheran congregations is very meager, fragmentary and defective. After a long and patient search only a small amount has been gath-

[6] This building is still standing, 1907.

ered upon which to base our conclusions. But we have become satisfied that there were Lutheran congregations in Indiana in no less than twenty different counties by the year 1835, which marks the end of the period under review. In all there were from thirty to forty congregations, numbering perhaps 2,000 communicants. In one year one missionary organized five congregations in four different counties. Besides these already mentioned there were a number of German congregations which remained independent of all synodical connection.

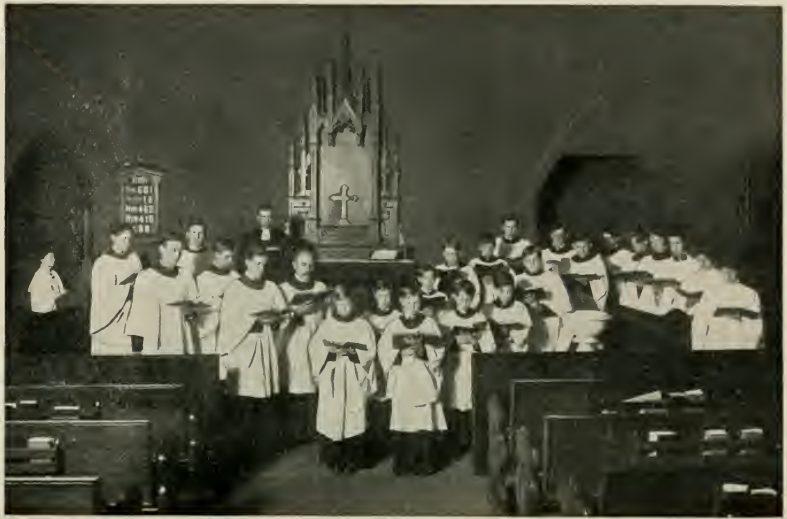
From material that has recently come to hand it appears that there was, at quite an early date, a tide of Lutheran immigration into the state from Ohio and Pennsylvania, which formed colonies and congregations in or near Liberty, Union county, Philomath in Fayette county, Raleigh in Rush county, and Waldron in Shelby county. This probably was the field of the early labors of Rev. John L. Markert.

The existence of the Lutheran church in Kentucky dates from the year 1792, when the congregations in Jefferson and Nelson counties were organized, but by whom we are unable to state. Thirteen years later a Lutheran colony from Virginia located in Boone county and in 1813 Rev. Wm. Carpenter, their former pastor, cast his lot with them and served them faithfully until his death in 1833. He also established a congregation in Lexington, but as he was unable to care for it, it in a short time disbanded. In 1811 a Rev. Mr. Zink went into the state and labored for several years. He claimed to have been licensed by Rev. Dr. Helmuth and Schmidt, but acknowledged that his license had long since expired. He persuaded the people, however, that he had a right to act as their minister. The place where he labored was Buler's

church. In 1813 the Rev. S. Mau was sent into the state by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, authorized to serve such congregations as the pastors in Ohio might designate. In 1814 a petition, signed by seventy-two persons from the vicinity of Bardstown, prayed that Synod to send them a pastor. In response to this appeal, the Rev. Mr. Zaesline was commissioned as a traveling missionary for that region. He visited the place, and although he said he could not settle there, he remained for several years. In 1820 the cries for pastoral services were so urgent that the Ministerium decided upon sending missionaries thither to look after their spiritual needs. Rev. C. F. Heyer and Rev. Mr. Wachter were appointed. In 1818 the Rev. Henry A. Kurtz was sent into the state as a missionary, and labored successfully for a number of years. In 1822 he appealed to the Ministerium for more laborers for this promising field.

In Illinois Lutherans were also early on the ground. Before its admission into the Union, a colony of this faith removed from North Carolina and located in Union county, not far from the present site of Anna and Jonesboro. These were followed by others who settled in Wabash, Jackson, and Montgomery counties. Their numbers were swelled by representatives from Lehigh county, Pennsylvania, and from Germany. Some of those who came from North Carolina crossed the Mississippi and located in Cape Girardeau, Perry, Madison and Wayne counties, Missouri. This was prior to 1820.

In order that the reader may form some conception of the vast stream of immigration that poured into these regions we quote from a report made to the Jeffersontown Convention in 1834, by a committee appointed to present a survey of the field. The report touches upon the con-

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH
Anderson, Ind.

ST. MARK'S CHURCH

Sheffield Ave., and Addison St., Chicago, Ill.

THE CHURCH OF MERCY

Destroyed in the great Chicago fire

The first English Lutheran Church erected west of Ohio

dition of the church in the states of Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri: "From the land of our fathers, thousands and tens of thousands are annually pouring forth, like a mighty stream of water in a manner inundating the soil. Indeed, so very rapid has been the tide of German immigration to this country that many sections have been almost wholly settled with Germans. And the spiritual want of this German community has become so great and distressing as to attract the notice and excite the sympathy not only of our own church, even to a great distance, but the English community of other denominations has been aroused on the subject, and the whole Christian body united in the same feeling of commiseration, in behalf of our suffering, aye, almost perishing German brethren in the faith."

The spiritual condition of these people was pitiable. They appealed most earnestly to the Synods, both in the east and in the south, for the ministration of the Word, and the efforts put forth by these bodies to supply their wants were marvelous when we consider the times and the means of transportation. Lutheran pastors were few, the field was so extensive, and the points from which appeals for help were coming so numerous that it was next to impossible to supply them. The Synods were ready and prompt in their efforts to answer the call. The Tennessee Synod especially was energetic in its efforts to follow the immigrants from their former homes to the distant settlements, and supply them with the Gospel. It also was diligent in seeking the children of the church who came from other regions than the southland. To this it was spurred by its jealousy of the pure doctrine and Lutheran practices. It endeavored to prevent a further spread of that type of Lutheranism which it regarded

as fundamentally heretical. Other Synods were equally diligent. Before 1820, the year that the Tennessee Synod came into existence, the North Carolina Synod was active in missionating among the scattered Lutherans in these states, and continued so until near the close of the period under review. In 1815 this Synod was petitioned by a congregation in Washington county for pastoral services.[8] In 1818 a petition from the Lutherans in Union county, Illinois, was before this Synod, and it requested Rev. John L. Markert, then residing in Ohio, to visit them and minister to their spiritual wants. This duty he fulfilled within the next two years. In 1825 a call, signed by forty persons, came to the Synod from the same place, praying for a pastor who could preach in both German and English. Rev. Wm. Jenkins was sent to visit the place, but his brief stay only intensified their sense of destitution. Two years later Rev. J. C. Schoenberg was sent as pastor for the place, remained two years, and was succeeded by Rev. Daniel Scherer, in 1831, who in addition to his work in Union county, organized congregations at Hillsboro in 1831, Mount Carmel, Vandalia, 1844, and at other points.

Rev. Daniel Scherer may justly be regarded as the patriarch of the Lutheran church in Illinois. He was for a number of years the only Lutheran pastor in the state. He was pastor at Jonesboro, Mt. Carmel, Hillsboro, and Vandalia, besides doing much missionary work in various sections. He was an untiring worker, frequently traveling 150 miles on horseback in order to minister to the scattered people of his field, who were not included in his immediate charge. He labored faithfully until his death on April 4, 1852.

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8 Bernheim, 401.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania demonstrated its interest in this western field by sending earnest men to explore the field and minister to the scattered children of the church. The first man thus sent out was Rev. Prof. Haverstick, of Philadelphia. He set out from Winchester, Virginia, at the close of September 1835, and spent nine months in Illinois and adjacent states. He visited Louisville, Jeffersontown, and other places in Kentucky. He crossed the Ohio river at Shawneetown, visited the Lutherans at Jonesboro, assisted Rev. Daniel Scherer twice at confirmation and twice at communion services. He had planned to enter Missouri and visit Whitner's Mills and Apple Creek churches, but found the Mississippi river impassable. He therefore went 120 miles farther north into St. Clair county, and visited a German settlement 20 miles southeast of Belleville. Here there was a congregation consisting of about 20 families. Here he met Rev. Jacob Reissom, from Basle. He next visited a settlement at Turkey Hill, of about 35 families. They had a schoolmaster who usually read a sermon and baptized and confirmed their children. He visited several other settlements in this county, but found them either polished rationalists or indifferent to his offers to conduct religious services. He regarded St. Clair county as a very unpromising field.

From Belleville he went northward about 35 miles to New Switzerland, in Madison county. Then he returned southward and crossed the Mississippi at St. Louis, the chief landing place for German immigrants to Illinois and Missouri. Here he found a small German congregation served by a German named Koernderfer. He was brought out by a Rev. Mr. Bueffner, who was sent out as a missionary by the German Reformed Synod at New Lisbon, Ohio, May 18, 1835. He next visited St. Charles,

where he found many Romanists, who had endeavored to proselyte the Lutheran people, but with little success. He found a small Lutheran congregation here, by whom he was favorably received. He remained several weeks, confirmed four, baptized several children and administered the communion. Thence he went to Marthasville, about 40 miles beyond St. Charles, where there were about 100 German families, served by a Rev. Mr. Garlichs who also preached at St. Charles. The next point visited was Pinkney, about 20 miles distant from Marthasville, where he found eighteen families, to whom he preached and administered the communion. On his return he visited Beardstown, on the Illinois river, where he was delayed three weeks on account of the ice, which made fording impossible. By going around 30 miles he was enabled to cross. He then visited Edwardsville and Hillsboro, the residence of Rev. Daniel Scherer, thence to Vandalia, the capital of the state, where he preached a few times. From Vandalia he proceeded to Wabash county. He found the country covered with water and ice, often sank so that the water and mud came to the horse's breast. This in fair weather was a three days' journey, but it required eight days for Prof. Haverstick to cover it. He reached Wabash county the second week in March, a few weeks after the visit of Rev. C. F. Heyer, who had prepared the people for his coming. He found the country so attractive, and the people so cordial, that he cheerfully would have entered upon pastoral relations had not arrangements already been made with a Rev. Mr. Kroh, a Reformed minister, to settle among them, and who was expected to arrive among them in the following May. There prevailed among them a churchly spirit, and they were ready to buy 80 acres of land for a church and school, and to

undertake the erection of a church. The building of the church was begun before Prof. Haverstick left. He assisted in the laying of the corner stone. This was the first brick church in the state. These people were from Lehigh and Northampton counties, Pennsylvania. With few exceptions these were Lutherans, but being visited by the Rev. Mr. Kroh at a time when they did not know whether they should ever be able to secure a Lutheran pastor, they embraced the opportunity and accepted this man as their pastor. Prof. Haverstick remained here for six weeks, preaching and instructing the young. On Saturday, April 23, Rev. C. F. Heyer returned and assisted in confirming 15 young persons, and administered the communion to 69 persons. On Monday, April 25, they laid the corner stone of the new brick church, which was the fourth Lutheran church building in the state. It was built upon a plot, a part of 80 acres of land purchased as a church property. Two other points in Wabash county were promising places for Lutheran congregations, Mount Carmel, the county seat, and Centerville. From Wabash county Prof. Haverstick went to Vincennes, Indiana, thence to Louisville, Kentucky, and thence returned to Pennsylvania. During this missionary tour, he traveled 3,200 miles, preached very often, administered communion to 230 persons, confirmed 47, baptized 8 children, and collected $30.25 for missionary purposes.

We have been unable to determine with any degree of certainty who was the first Lutheran pastor to set foot upon what is now Indiana soil. There is a tradition that Rev. George Forster, who resided in Fairfield county, Ohio, in 1805, and who regarded the whole northwest as his mission field, and who was imbued with a deep missionary zeal, visited Harrison county, and ministered to

the scattered Lutherans there. We have been unable, however, to verify this tradition.

Among the pioneer pastors who labored in western Ohio was the Rev. John Samuel Man. He came into this section at a very early period, possibly in 1807. He had been a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and was somewhat eccentric in character. Several times he changed his church relation, but confessed himself a Lutheran before his death. He supported himself by teaching school. He is said to have been the first school teacher in the Twin-valley. His education was limited, and his preaching abilities were very deficient. His home was near Germantown. He organized the Salem Lutheran church at Lewisburg, Ohio, in the spring of 1808. He also served congregations in Indiana, one of which was St. John's. This congregation probably was in Fayette county. In 1813 he was granted a license by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, to serve such congregations in Kentucky as may be designated by the ministers residing in Ohio. He continued his pastoral labors in Montgomery county, Ohio, as late as November 19, 1818. As he was not a settled pastor, his work was almost exclusively of a missionary character, and we are satisfied that his field of operations extended into Indiana. Whether he was ever ordained we do not know. He was present at the meeting of the Ohio Synod in 1818, and recognized as a Lutheran minister. He lived to a good old age, and died in 1830.[9]

Another one of the pioneers in this section was the Rev. Andrew Simon. He labored in German and Miama

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[9] Based on Hentz's Lutheran Church in Germantown, Ohio, and other sources.

townships, Montgomery county, Ohio, for a number of years, from 1810 to 1818 at least.[10] He was not a fluent speaker, scarcely able to express his thoughts intelligently, and consequently not very popular as a preacher nor successful as a pastor. It is said that he abandoned the ministry and turned his attention to the practice of medicine. He removed to Indiana, where he closed his earthly career. Whether he continued to preach after his removal to that state we do not know. He was present at the meeting of the Ohio Synod in 1818, and evidently was then still in the active ministry. He was a missionary rather than a settled pastor.

In 1815 the Rev. John Caspar Dill was called as the pastor of the Lutheran church in Germantown, Ohio, and remained in the office until his death in 1824. His field of labor was very extensive, embracing several counties. In his removal to the west he was commissioned by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to act as a traveling missionary and supply for other congregations in this section of the country. It is quite probable that in his missionary labors he entered the bounds of Indiana.

Rev. Wm. Carpenter, who came to Boone county, Kentucky, in 1813, where he labored for twenty years, was interested in the Lutherans in Indiana, and familiar with their conditions. He advised Rev. Mr. Schnee in 1821 to go to Indiana instead of Kentucky, which would indicate that he knew something of the field from personal observation. It is probable that he did pioneer work within the bounds of the Hoosier state.

Rev. C. F. Heyer was commissioned in 1819 by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to visit some districts in

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10 Dates of earliest and latest marriages recorded as solemnized by him in Montgomery county. Probate Court Records.

Kentucky and Indiana, and provide the brethren there with the Word and Sacraments. He spent three months in this work. It was during this year that he organized a congregation or more in Harrison county, and ministered to it for a time. Whether this was the Mount Solomon church or some other we have not the data to determine, as there were several congregations in that county at an early day. He also visited Floyd and Jefferson counties and preached to the Lutherans he found there.

As the reports of these missionaries, describing the spiritual destitution of the brethren in the faith, located in these western regions, came to the Synod its interest in them increased. In 1821 it commissioned the Rev. Mr. Schnee as its missionary in these western regions, embracing Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. Schnee evidently had had considerable experience in pioneer and frontier work. He entered upon his labors July 30, 1821. He traveled westward, preaching wherever opportunity offered. He spent some time in Ohio visiting the Lutheran pastors, and conferring with them about the work. Among these pastors he found much opposition to the General Synod, which had been recently organized, and which seemed to be the paramount question among the Lutherans at that time. Rev. Charles Henkel he found most pronounced and bitter in his opposition to that body. At Carlisle, Ohio or Kentucky, we cannot say which, he was joined by Rev. L. H. Meyers, and together they visited Rev. Wm. Carpenter, in Boone county, Kentucky. Here the plans of the missionaries were discussed. Schnee's destination was Kentucky, but Rev. H. A. Kurtz, who had been sent to that state a year or two before by the same Synod, and whose reports represented the condition of the people as pitiable and distressing, had proposed

the organization of a Kentucky Synod, which Carpenter warmly opposed. He regarded the project as a wild and foolish idea, and urged the missionaries not to remain in Kentucky, but to go to Indiana. This advice the missionaries took, and set out upon their journey. They traveled together until they reached Paoli, in Orange county. Here they separated, Schnee going westward as far as the Wabash, where he found a settlement of Germans. Here he turned back, passing through Madison. His tour lasted three and one-half months. He traveled 1,052 miles, organized one congregation baptized 34 children, and administered the communion to 36 persons.

From Paoli Rev. L. H. Meyers went southward. He visited Salem, in Washington county, and Corydon, in Harrison county. After tarrying here for a short time he returned to his scattered congregation in Cincinnati. In 1822 Rev. L. H. Meyers was reappointed as missionary to Indiana and Kentucky for a period of two months. These duties he discharged, reporting that he had traveled 767 miles, baptized 37 children, and preached 49 times. No congregations were organized.

The Tennessee Synod was also deeply concerned for the spiritual interests of the Lutherans in Indiana and adjacent parts. Its opposition to the General Synod, and its intense zeal for the pure faith which it professed, spurred its pastors to almost superhuman efforts to plant the Lutheran church in this new country. It was a true missionary Synod. It had no mission treasury, nor funds for the support of missionaries, yet it did a vast amount of true missionary work. Almost every pastor in that body was a zealous missionary, making extended tours into different sections of the country, and trusting to

Providence for his support, and this trust was never misplaced. In addition to these individual efforts the Synod instructed certain of its pastors to visit the frontier settlements and minister to the destitute brethren. These instructions were always carried out, unless some providential interposition prevented.

The Rev. Jacob Zink, of Washington county, Virginia, was probably the first missionary of the Tennessee Synod to labor in Indiana. His zeal was like his field, boundless. The whole region east of the Mississippi river was his parish. He journeyed almost constantly. In 1821 his missionary tour embraced portions of Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky and Indiana. Wherever he went he preached, catechised, and administered the sacraments as opportunity offered or the necessities required. In 1823 he located permanently in Indiana, but at what point we do not know. This year he attended the convention of the Ohio Synod at Chillicothe. He labored in the state until his death in 1827. The place of his residence is not known, but probably it was near Martinsville, Morgan county. Rev. Mr. Zink was a zealous and devoted Lutheran, and a man of strong convictions. He loved his church, and preached her doctrines from a conviction of their scripturalness. He was a pronounced opponent to the General Synod and a loyal son of the Tennessee Synod. He did much to develop a deep Lutheran consciousness in the congregations he served, all of which were in harmony with his own pronounced views.

It is certain that the renowned Rev. Paul Henkel was instrumental in planting the Lutheran church in Indiana, although the places visited and the congregations

organized by him are not known to the writer.[11] The work accomplished by the zealous, consecrated and godly man, and the intense missionary spirit and zeal which his teaching and example provoked among his own sons, and those who were his pupils, entitle him to more than a passing notice in this connection. Of his five sons who entered the ministry of the Lutheran church, three, and one grandson, were instrumental in establishing the Lutheran church in this state, and another grandson, the Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, in later years, both as a pastor and as the General Council's western missionary, did much to build up the Lutheran Zion in the commonwealth.

Paul Henkel was born on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, December 15, 1754. He died at New Market, Virginia, November 17, 1825. The family trace their descent through Count Henkel of Poeltzig, from Johann Henkel, D. D., LLD., born in Hungary, who was father confessor to Queen Maria. The head of the American branch of the family was Rev. Gerhard Henkel, who came to America about the year 1700. In the Fatherland Rev. Gerhard Henkel was for a time court chaplain to Duke Moritz of Saxony, who becoming a Roman Catholic, exiled him. He was the first Lutheran minister in Virginia, and afterwards pastor at Germantown, Pa. He died about the year 1742. From him descended a numerous family, many of whose members are prominent in the Lutheran church and in the learned professions. One of the sons of Rev. Gerhard Henkel was Justus, who was the father of Jacob, who was the father of Paul, Isaac, Moses and John. Moses entered the ministry of the Methodist

11 Hist. Tenn. Synod, p. 68.

church, but Paul, Isaac and John were true to the faith of their father and entered the ministry of the Lutheran church.[12]

Jacob Henkel had settled in North Carolina, on the banks of the Yadkin. About 1760 the Indians became so

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12 We append an abbreviated genealogical table of the Henkel family.

Johann Henkel, D.D., LL.D., born in Pleutschau, Hungary.
Count Henkel, of Poeltzig.
Gerhard Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Emigrated to America 1700—1718, died cir. 1742.
11 Justus Henkel.
12 Jacob Henkel.
13 Moses Henkel. M. E. minister.
23 Isaac Henkel. Lutheran pastor.
33 John Henkel. Lutheran pastor.
43 Paul Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born December 15, 1754, died November 25, 1825.
14 Solomon Henkel, M. D. Publisher.
15 Samuel G. Henkel, M. D. Born February 12, 1807, died March 8, 1864.
25 Heleah. Married Rev. D. M. Henkel, D.D.
24 Philip Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born September 23, 1779, died October 9, 1833.
15 Eusebius S. Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born July 26, 1811, died December 17, 1874.
25 Irenaeus Henkel. Lutheran pastor.
34 Ambrose Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born July 11, 1786, died January 6, 1873.
15 Elnora. Married Socrates Henkel, D.D.
44 Andrew Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born October 21, 1790, died April 23, 1870.
15 George Henkel, M.D.
25 Vandalona Henkel. Married Rev. J. L. Stirewalt.
54 David Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born May 5, 1795, died June 15, 1831.
15 Polycarp C. Henkel, D.D. Lutheran pastor. Born August 20, 1820, died September 26, 1889.

threatening that he removed with his family to western Virginia. Here young Paul grew up under the influence of frontier life, and became an expert hunter, and familiar with Indian warfare. Of his early religious training we know nothing. There is a tradition that when he was about twenty-two years old, he heard some eminent preacher and resolved to prepare himself for the ministry. He placed himself under the care of Rev. Mr. Krug, of Frederick, Maryland, from whom he acquired a fair knowledge of German, Latin, Greek and other branches necessary for the office. He was licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and accepted a call from congregations in the Shenandoah valley, at and near New Market. But his labors extended far beyond his immediate field. On the 6th of June, 1792, he was ordained by Rev. John Fred. Schmidt, in Philadelphia. After serving congregations in Staunton, Va., and Rowan county, North Carolina, he located again in New Market, and labored as an independent missionary the rest of his days. Not depending for a support on any special missionary fund but upon the promises of his Master, he entered upon one of the

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25 Socrates Henkel, D.D. Lutheran pastor.

64 Charles Henkel. Lutheran pastor. Born March 18, 1798, died 1841.

15 D. M. Henkel, D.D. Lutheran pastor.

16 —— Wife of Rev. A. L. Yount, D.D.

17 John Yount. Lutheran pastor.

74 Hannah. Wife of Rev. John Stirewalt.

15 Paul Stirewalt. Lutheran pastor.

25 Julius L. Stirewalt. Lutheran pastor.

35 Quintius Spener Stirewalt. Student of Theology.

Rev. Jacob Stirewalt, married Henrietta Henkel, daughter of Elias Henkel.

1 Rev. J. N. Stirewalt.

2 Rev. Jerome P. Stirewalt.

most remarkable careers of missionary effort known in the annals of the Church of America. Animated by a truly apostolic zeal, he threw himself into the work with all the ardor of youth. His labors are characterized by a zeal and self-denial, and perseverance and indomitable courage equalled by but few men since the days of the apostles. Amidst dangers and the severest hardships, he made repeated tours penetrating into the wildernesses of the south and west, to the farthest limits of civilization, hunting up the scattered members of the household of faith, baptizing, instructing and confirming their children, preaching the Word, organizing congregations and schools, and supplying the people with books of devotion, a supply of which he generally carried with him. He exhorted the people to be loyal to their Church and faithful to God. In 1810 he made a tour into Ohio, entering the state opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha. From thence he went to Chillicothe, thence to Springfield, then to Mad Rivers, the present site of Dayton, where he came near losing his life by drowning, being accidently thrown into the river. This was then the limit of white settlements. He proceeded to an Indian town some twenty miles farther north, probably Piqua. After a stay of eight days he traveled down the Great Miami River, to a congregation where he spent two weeks instructing the young and preaching the Word. This probably was Germantown, as he was at this place in this year. From this place he returned home to New Market, and prepared for a tour into North Carolina. During this tour into Ohio, he preached almost daily, sometimes in German and sometimes in English, sometimes both in one day, and, as it appears from the data at hand, he organized one congregation and one school, confirmed 59 and

administered the Lord's Supper to 95. He labored very hard, and was much distressed because of the bad influence of the fanatical sects, and complained that the schools were English while the people, old and young, spoke the German.

No more active, indefatigable and self-denying missionary than Paul Henkel ever labored in this country. It is strange that no extended accounts of this man's life and labors are published. In other communions, men of less zeal and ability, whose work is less fruitful than is his, have been honored with published biographies, while this man's work is in danger of being forgotten. The church should know about his life, his deeds, his zeal and devotion for her and her faith. The whole unexplored west was his parish. Without any authorization from Mission Boards, or assurance of support save the Master's command "Go preach the Gospel," and the promise "Lo I am with you alway," he went forth in obedience to that command, and in firm reliance upon that promise, and entered upon his labors unmoved and undismayed by the darkest prospects. Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio and West Virginia, were the fields of his operations.

In some of these tours he was accompanied by his noble and heroic wife, who was animated by a like missionary spirit. In a two-wheeled wagon they traveled. Their journeys were not without dangers. In peril of waters, crossing swollen streams, in perils of land, often compelled to spend the night in the forests, abounding with panther, bear and wolves, they passed their time that the Gospel might be preached unto the destitute. From a small farm he derived his subsistence. His sons owned a printing press, from which a small income was derived,

and the devotional books which they issued, he helped to distribute in his tours. He would accept no compensation for his services.

In his journeyings he often came upon gatherings of people, such as "log-rollings," house- or barn-"raisings," "corn-huskings" and the like. On such occasions he would announce his office, and offer to preach. The offer as a rule was gladly accepted. The people would seat themselves upon logs, stumps, or on the ground, while a stump or short "log cut" set on end served as a pulpit. Under these conditions and in these improvised sanctuaries he would deliver his sermon, in the language preferred, German or English, or possibly a sermon in each. If time permitted he would tarry for a few days, visit from house to house, baptize the children and comfort the sick and sorrowing. His kindly acts, and genuine Christian sympathy won the hearts of all, and the partings were often amid sobs and tears. Thus the settlements were visited, and the desolate made to rejoice in the treasures of grace. Thus the Word and Sacrament were ministered unto our forefathers in this region.

In this manner a whole summer was spent in the field. As the winter approached, he would turn his face toward his home, and then prepare for a trip into the sunny southland, or prepare during the winter months for another trip throughout the north. With such zeal, fidelity and devotion on the part of her sons, even in a darkening hour, the Lutheran Church could not fail to live. By such sons her precious truths were kept fresh and uncorrupted among the people on the frontiers.

Paul Henkel was a man of fine physique. He was well proportioned, large, erect, standing about six feet. with well developed physical organs, full of energy and

MT. ZION LUTHERAN CHURCH
Knox County, Ind.

1. ———
2. Rev. Hiram Peters, D. D.
3. Rev. M. E. Haberland
4. Rev. Paul Roth
5. Rev. W. J. Finck
6. Rev. A. C. Anda
7. Rev. J. R. E. Hunt

ZION'S CHURCH
Mulberry, Ind.

FAIRHAVEN LUTHERAN CHURCH
Near Mulberry, Ind.

perseverance. Without these he would have been unequal to the task before him. His mind was well balanced. His attainments were liberal. In disposition he was kind, affectionate and forbearing. He was universally honored, loved and esteemed.

As a preacher he had few superiors among his contemporaries. He was fervent, animated and at times eloquent. He preached the doctrines of the Lutheran church from conviction of their scripturalness. His soul was in his Master's cause. Few ministers performed more arduous, faithful, and efficient labor than he did. In all the relations of life he was true, faithful, pious, reliable and upright.

Rev. David Henkel, moved by the same spirit that animated his father, was very active in propagating the faith, and in opposing not only the General Synod but also the Methodists, Unitarians and Baptists. He heartily received the doctrines taught and confessed by the Lutheran church as set forth in the Symbolical Books,[13] and defended them with all the power at his command. He was among the few who saw that many who bore the Lutheran name, had departed from the Lutheran faith and practice. He exerted himself to induce the church in America to return to the old standards. "He was the best educated and most energetic of the family, although all ranked high in both for that day. Not so learned as some of his opponents but possessing great natural talent, and indefatigably industrious, he was more than their equal. It was he who by his writings and preaching became the leader in what was for years popularly and reproachfully called Henkelism, but which distinguished itself only by a more rigid adherence to the old Lutheran

[13] S. S. Schmucker, Luth. Ch. in Amer., p. 215.

theology, and by a want of sympathy and co-operation with what was called the Evangelical section of the church. David Henkel was a strong man among the men with whom he was associated, and exercised an unlimited control over their ideas and actions."[14] With voice and pen he pressed his work. He challenged the Lutheranism of all the existing synods, and the subsequent history of the church has practically vindicated his position, although he was treated by his opponents with almost contemptuous silence. In the south he was belittled by those who could not understand him, but held in reverence by those whom he had brought to a clearer apprehension and deeper appreciation of the Lutheran faith. He was an earnest student of the Scriptures and of the Book of Concord, and knew what were the doctrines of the church.

He had no sympathy with the new measures and innovations introduced into so many of the churches. For Methodism he had no love, neither for its extravagant methods and revivals, nor for its subjectiveness in its doctrines. With these people he came into sharp controversy. Henkel had published a pamphlet entitled "Baptism, or Heavenly Flood of Regeneration." One Joseph Moore published some strictures on this pamphlet, which fell into Henkel's hands. Moore was neither logical nor consistent, nor fair in his criticisms. Henkel then published his treatise "Answer to Joseph Moore, the Methodist," in which he handled his antagonist without gloves, and vindicated his own position. He also published a treatise entitled "Against the Unitarians," in which he ably defends the Lutheran view of the Person and Incarnation of Jesus Christ. This was written because of the

[14] Morris, Fifty Years in Luth. Min., p. 44.

doctrines that were advocated in both pulpit and print. This work was published by order of the Tennessee Synod. These works were widely scattered, even in Indiana many copies were sold.[15] Besides these controversies through the press, he had frequent public disputations with prominent men, both within and without the Lutheran church. He was in 1826 requested to visit Pennsylvania and preach and vindicate the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran church. To this he agreed.[16]

As early as 1824 he visited the churches in Indiana, and encouraged them to be true to the faith of the fathers. Everywhere he was received with joy and liberally remunerated for his services. How long he remained in the state, and what congregations he visited, we have not been able to ascertain. The next year he was at Jeffersontown, Kentucky, and it is quite probable that a portion of the year was spent in ministering to the churches in Indiana. His visit to these churches did much to establish them in their opposition to the General Synod. He spent several weeks in Greene county, Indiana, but in what year we know not. His career was cut short by an untimely death in 1831. The churches in the south lamented his death for many years. His opposition to a literary institution was his chief fault and the mistake of his life.[17]

Rev. Philip Henkel, an older brother of David, labored extensively in Indiana. It appears that he spent the

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[15] The writer found several copies among the older families.

[16] Henkel, Hist. Tenn. Synod, p. 71.

[17] Some idea of the labors of these missionaries can be obtained from their ministerial acts. David Henkel in a ministry of about 18 years preached 3200 times, baptized 2997 infants, 240 adults, and confirmed 1105.

greater part of the year 1831 missionating in the state, during which time he organized five congregations in four different counties, namely St. John's in Clear Creek township, and Zions(?) in Beanblossom township, Monroe county, Salem in White River township, Morgan county, Philadelphia in Parke county, and St. John's, Bluff Creek, Johnson county. His son, Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, came to the state in 1833, as a missionary adventurer, and labored almost exclusively within its bounds until his death.

Very early in the century the Rev. John Lewis Markert labored in the state, but only in the capacity of a missionary. He had served congregations in North Carolina from 1805 to 1816. During this period he visited Ohio, about 1813, and supplied several congregations, among which was the one at Germantown. In 1816 he moved to Indiana, locating, according to the best information, in Fayette county. He may justly be regarded as the patriarch of the Lutheran church in the state. In 1817 he reported by letter to the North Carolina Synod, and described the deplorable conditions of the church in that state. He told of many scattered congregations that he was then serving, and that he was the only Lutheran pastor in the state.[18] In 1819 he was entreated by the North Carolina Synod to visit the brethren in Union county, Illinois, in response to their "heart-affecting memorial and prayer for spiritual ministration." He is spoken of as then residing in Ohio, but as his home was not far from the Ohio line, and serving congregations in that state, the brethren in the south were probably misled as to his place of residence. He visited the Lutherans in Union county, Illinois, in 1820, in compliance with the request

[18] Hist. N. C. Synod, p. 88. Min. N. C. Synod, 1817.

of the North Carolina Synod, made two years before. He labored in Montgomery county, Ohio, from April 18, 1820, to September 29, 1823,[19] at least; but what congregations he served we have been unable to ascertain. In 1823 he had charge of three schools, which he taught in connection with his pastoral work.[20] He did not co-operate with the Ohio pastors in the organization of the Ohio Synod in 1818, nor did he connect himself with that body. But it is quite probable that he and Pastors Mann, Simon and Dill, and possibly also Heinecke, who came into this region as early as 1822, co-operated in their efforts to supply the spiritual needs of the large Lutheran population that had flowed into this region. Markert remained in connection with the North Carolina Synod until 1829, when he united with the Tennessee Synod. During this year he and Rev. Nehemiah Bonham, in compliance with that Synod's request, visited all the congregations in connection with it, a heavy task, but cheerfully and faithfully performed.

For several years at least Rev. Mr. Markert resided in Fayette county, Indiana, where he served St. John's congregation in connection with his other fields of labor. He received such meagre support that he was compelled to work at his trade, that of a cooper, for a livelihood. He reported that no minister could subsist there without some support from a plantation. In 1831

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19 Earliest and latest dates of record of marriages solemnized by him in Montgomery county, Ohio.

20 These pioneer pastors were away from their homes so much, and covered so large a territory in their ministrations, that it is difficult to determine the place of their residence. The early minutes generally gave only the state, sometimes also the counties, in which they resided.

he located in Fountain county, Indiana, where he resided until his death, November 22, 1850.

Rev. Christian Moritz located in the state as early as 1829. Some years before he had visited Greene county in response to an invitation from the Lutherans there, many of whom had been his parishioners in North Carolina. He was so well pleased with the people and with the country that he decided to make his home among them. His first visit to the state, so far as we can ascertain, was in 1823, when he preached for the churches at Jeffersontown, Kentucky, and at Fourteen Mile Creek, Clarke county, Indiana. During the interim of these dates he labored chiefly in Cape Girardeau county, Missouri.

Rev. Abraham Miller, a deacon of the Tennessee Synod, located in the state in 1828, making his home near Columbus, in Bartholomew county. He began to preach at the age of 18, had been licensed, and served congregations in Virginia and Tennessee. He was but 23 years of age when he came to the state, and supplemented his support by teaching school. He supplied a number of congregations in the southern part of the state. Subsequently he moved to Shelby county, and finally to Bluff Creek, Johnson county, where he resided until his death, December 4, 1887. He continued to preach regularly until 1864, when he retired from the active work.

Rev. Jacob Gruber, residing at Euphemia, now Lewisburg, Ohio, labored as a missionary in the state for a number of years. He organized Zion's Church, East Germantown in 1822, and St. Jacob's Church several years later. Besides supplying these congregations, he served congregations in Clinton, and Blackford counties. He followed the avocation of a stone cutter, making a

specialty of grave stones. During his missionary tours, besides preaching and catechising, he would take orders for grave stones, which he would fill upon his next visit. He travelled in a wagon, and thus delivered his goods. Like Paul the apostle, he would not be a burden upon the church but labored with his own hands for his support.

Besides the pastors above mentioned, Rev. Andrew Henkel, residing at Germantown, Ohio, Rev. John Wagenhuls, residing at Lancaster, Ohio, and Rev. Henry Heincke, residing at Miamisburg, Ohio, did pioneer work in the state at intervals, prior to 1835. It is evident, that the Lutheran population in the state was considerable, and that it was impossible for the pastors on the field to care for it, and save it to the Lutheran church. They made heroic efforts, and to them the church owes a debt of gratitude.

In 1835, the Rev. Ezra Keller was sent out by the Missionary Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, as a missionary explorer. His field embraced portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The next year he made his report, a part of which, pertaining to the field under consideration, we append to this narrative. It is as follows: "The first place at which I arrived from New Albany, where I entered the state of Indiana, was Rockford in Jackson county, where I found a settlement of Swiss, of about fourteen families. Most of them have been living here three or four years, and more are expected to settle in the neighborhood. They are generally piously disposed, but have no one to break unto them the bread of life. They are exceedingly desirous to have a minister, who would preach steadily, and catechise their children. I remained with them several days, preached once, and visited some families who were sick. What is very com-

mendable in these people is, that they are in the habit of meeting every Sunday for divine service, when a few hymns are sung, and one reads the church service. They requested me to return their sincere thanks to synod for the visit and service of your missionary, and also entreat you to consider their condition.

From this place I proceeded northward into Shelby Co. where I was told were some destitute congregations. But before I reached them I was informed that they were under the pastoral care of Rev. A. Miller, so I passed on into Marion Co. Here, four miles north of Indianapolis, I met Rev. A. Reck, a venerable father in our Zion, who, after having long labored to build up our church in the east, emigrated in the spring of 1836, into this state, with the view of doing something for the Master's cause in this great valley. He has already organized a congregation in his immediate neighborhood, of about fifty members. They have put up a comfortable house for divine worship in sight of their pastor's dwelling. Here I had the pleasure of being with him at his first communion. Sixteen were confirmed, and about fifty united in partaking of the Lord's Supper. At this place I preached thrice, and baptized one. It was a season of great interest to the members, and of novelty to many spectators, it being the first time these ordinances were administered in this neighborhood.

I next visited a settlement of European Germans, twelve miles east of Indianapolis, of about twenty families. They are generally in good circumstances, and some of them are well educated; but as to religion they seem to be in a deplorable condition. I felt a great desire to preach for them, and made application to that effect, but they seemed reluctant to hear me except on Sabbath, and

the reason they gave was that they could not spare the time; and as I had an appointment for the Sabbath at another place I was compelled to leave them, after having traveled many miles through rainy weather, over bad roads and encountering high waters, without being permitted to preach one sermon. This was painful to my mind and a strong evidence that they need some one to lead them in the path of duty. Their condition is indeed deplorable. Their children are growing up without religious instruction, and are likely to become as wild as the country in wich they live.

The next place I visited was sixteen miles north of Indianapolis, near Germantown. There live about thirty members of our church from different states of the Union. I preached for these people in a private house. They are visited occasionally by Mr. Reck, who will perhaps soon form them into a congregation.

From this place I went to a German settlement in Hamilton Co. five miles west of White River. In this neighborhood live about twelve Lutheran families, originally from Pennsylvania, and many who are of German descent, but not members of the church. This settlement is quite new; the people have no chairs, not even benches. They appear however to be hungry for the bread of life and receive it with a ready mind. I preached to them with great satisfaction in a little cabin, and afterwards baptized two infants. I had reason to believe that the truth made a deep impression on their minds. Many tears flowed and they appeared to be very anxious to obtain a minister, and promised to put up a house for worship if they could obtain some one to teach them.

From this settlement I returned to Indianapolis, and on my way preached in the evening at Abbesville. In

Indianapolis I preached to a small congregation, which has been recently organized by Rev. Reck.

Another settlement I visited in Marion Co. is on Little Eagle creek. Here are about twelve families of Lutherans, all of whom can understand the English language. To these people I preached in a private house.

From here I went to Boone Co., where I found a number of Lutherans from East Tennessee, settled about six miles south-east from Lebanon. These people have been visited occasionally by Rev. E. S. Henkel of the Indiana Synod, who speaks of taking up his residence among them. I preached to them in a cabin. In the afternoon I rode to Lebanon where I preached in the evening to a large and attentive audience in the courthouse. I found one member of our church here, from North Carolina, who was much pleased to hear a minister of his own faith. The roads in this part of the country I found so exceeding bad that I could not travel more than ten or twelve miles per day.

The next place I visited was La Fayette, a flourishing town on the Wabash. Here I found about seven members of our church, who despair of getting a minister, and now speak of uniting with other churches. May God raise up laborers for our people! I would here remark that since I left Indiana, I met a gentleman, a citizen of Logansport, Cass Co., who informed me that in that place were many European Germans who were Protestants. These should be visited.

From LaFayette I went down the Wabash to a little place called Attica, which I reached on the 12th of November. Here I found it necessary, for myself and my horse, to rest for a short time. At Attica I found twelve members of the Lutheran, and about an equal number of

the Reformed church, chiefly from Maryland. During my stay here I preached six times, visited all the members at their homes and preached once in the neighborhood. At Attica a minister is much needed and desired. The people are willing to receive one either from the Lutheran or Reformed church. They are hungry for the bread of life, and care not who breaks it to them.

From this place I went to Perryville, a beautiful town on the Wabash. In this place and vicinity I found fifteen members of the Lutheran and a few families of the German Reformed church. I remained with them a week, preached four times, visited most of them in their homes, and baptized two infants. Most of these people are from Ohio, are wealthy, are anxious to hear a minister, and would contribute liberally to his support. Perryville is situated in one of the finest portions of the state, is growing fast, has but one organized church, and would be a fine situation for a Lutheran minister. No German is needed here, or in Attica. While at this place I heard of a settlement of Lutherans in Fountain county, but could not visit them in consequence of bad roads and high water." [21]

From Perryville Rev. Keller entered Illinois and crossed the state to St. Charles, Missouri.

Thus far we have spoken only of those pioneer pastors whose work was chiefly English, or whose congregations became English in due time. These were first on the field. The Germans came later, during that period when German immigration to the state became so great. Among the earlier German pastors of whom we have any record were J., and J. F. Isensee, brothers from the

[21] This report is taken from The Life of Ezra Keller.

University of Halle. Rev. J. J. Meissner, Rev. F. C. D. Wynekin, and Rev. William Sihler. Besides these, there were some who belonged to the Joint Synod of Ohio. The Germans were more successful in making their work permanent. This is due to their strict adherence to all the doctrines and principles of Lutheranism, and a larger supply of pastors for their specific needs.

CHAPTER III

Experimentation and Organization of Forces

Chapter III.

Experimentation and Organization of Forces.

IN order to understand properly the history of the Lutheran church in this region, and estimate correctly the difficulties under which her beginnings were made, it is necessary that we review briefly the times and the movements that obtained in the districts from whence her pioneer members came. The types of Lutheranism prevailing in the older sections of the church found their counterpart here, and the controversies that agitated her in the east and the south found an echo in the newly settled portions of Indiana and adjacent parts. If a pastor visited a congregation in the state — especially one composed of Tennessee Synod Lutherans — he was at once required to avow his adherence to the Henkelites, or else his services were not desired. The Generalists were not so strict, yet their congregations were, as a rule, adverse to having a Henkelite preach for them.[22] Two divergent tendencies were early perceptible, and each developed into a distinct and peculiar polity and life.

At the time of which we write the Lutheran church in America was powerfully influenced on the one hand by

[22] These terms, Henkelites and Henkelism, Generalists and Generalism, designating the opponents and advocates of the General Synod, were in very common usage in this region during this period.

the Unionism of Germany, and on the other by the Revivalism introduced into America a generation or two before by the Methodists. This religious awakening, like a tidal wave, swept over the whole country during the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century, and affected almost every denomination in the country. It swept over the Carolinas in 1800–1801, and the ablest men of the Lutheran church in that section, Rev. C. A. G. Storch and Paul Henkel, became greatly disturbed and perplexed over the phenomena which they witnessed, and which in some measure unsettled their people. They hesitated to call the movement fanatical, or to denounce it as unscriptural, for they discovered a remarkable change in persons who had previously been either ungodly in their lives or avowedly sceptical in their views. Rev. Paul Henkel, while he studied the movement, disapproved of the measures. The extravagant practices and arrogant claims of some of the advocates of these measures, convinced him that the movement could not be salutary to the church. The tendency to ignore doctrine and substitute human experience as an evidence of divine favor, alienated the conservative pastors from the movement, and did much in preparing the Lutheran pastors for the organization of the North Carolina Synod.

The immediate effect of this Unionism and Revivalism upon the Lutheran church in the south was deplorable. The enthusiasm it engendered was almost irresistible. The Patriarchs of the church, Muhlenberg and his compeers, had passed to their reward, and their successors were men of a different spirit and aim ; men who did not subscribe to the confessions of the church. They evinced an anxiety to eliminate from the catechisms, liturgies and hymns, everything that distinguished her from the

sects, and under their leadership the church rapidly drifted from her moorings. They introduced doctrines and practices which were foreign to her nature and subversive of her faith. Their plea was that they proposed to Americanize the Lutheran church.

It was at the time when she had thus drifted away from her standards, and while these men were at the helm, that the General Synod was organized. That movement was not unanimous. There was a strong dissent in certain Synods, and determined opposition on the part of many pastors. This opposition was partly due to unfounded prejudices, but chiefly to the doctrinal indeterminateness of the General Synod itself. Probably the most determined opposition to the formation of the General Synod was found in the North Carolina Synod. For a number of years prior to 1820, when the General Synod was organized, there were divergent tendencies in the North Carolina Synod, arising from personal differences, questions of doctrine, of licensure and ordination, and the lax practices that had grown out of the prevailing Unionism and Revivalism. Personal differences arose because of charges that were made against David Henkel, a licentiate. A reaction against the doctrinal indeterminateness of the Synod was inaugurated by the Henkels, Paul, Philip and David, who were close students of the Book of Concord. The doctrinal questions that arose were chiefly "Original Sin," "The Person of Christ," "Baptism" and "The Lord's Supper." The formation of the General Synod also was involved. There was also great laxity in practice in the Synod.

Mr. Robert Johnson Miller, who had been ordained in 1794, before a Synod was organized, for the Episcopalian ministry, became a member of the Synod, and

remained in connection with it for twenty-seven years, during which time he served Lutheran congregations. He never confessed himself a Lutheran, and when ordained he was obligated to the doctrines of the Episcopal church. Gottlob Schober, who had been a member of the Legislature, a lawyer by profession, and a Moravian in religion, was ordained by this Synod in 1810. He was then 54 years of age. He became one of the most active and aggressive, but not representative members. He did not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and never confessed himself a Lutheran. He was chosen as the representative of the North Carolina Synod to the several conventions that were held preliminary to the organization of the General Synod. He was present at the conventions at Baltimore, 1819, preliminary,[23] Hagerstown,[24] October, 1820, and Fredericktown,[25] 1821.

The opposition in the North Carolina Synod to the proposed General Synod was led by Rev. Paul Henkel, his sons, David and Philip, and a few others. The Synod's affiliation with Episcopalians and Moravians, and its tendency to minimize the distinctive Lutheran doctrines, filled the Henkels with alarm, and they determined to save the Lutheran church in the south from casting off her birthright. The controversy between the Henkelites and the advocates of Unionism and new measures became warm and decisive, and a disruption of the body was inevitable. The occasion soon presented itself. When the question of the formation of the General Synod came before the North Carolina Synod, Miller, Schober and others, whose Lutheranism was questioned by the

23 Bernheim, 439. 24 Luth. Church Review, Vol. XI. : 68.
25 Bernheim, 440.

Henkels, championed the movement, and succeeded in having the Synod meet six weeks earlier in 1819 than the regularly appointed time, in order to elect delegates to the proposed convention. The Henkels were not notified of this change of time, and did not attend.[26] They characterized the session as the "untimely Synod," and never recognized it as valid or constitutional, and refused to be bound by its action. They met at the originally appointed time and place, declared the acts of the "untimely Synod" null and void, and adjourned to meet at the same time and place selected by the "untimely Synod." At the convention of 1820 efforts to effect a reconciliation were made, but failed, and the Henkels withdrew from the North Carolina Synod and organized the Tennessee Synod. It published a "Short Account of the Business Transactions," in which, among other things, are found "Important Objections Against the Proposed Constitution of the General Synod." The German of the book is not classical, but there is much sound reasoning in it.[27]

Those who followed the Henkels in their opposition to the General Synod, and to all practices and teachings which they regarded as innovations in the church and departures from her faith, whether found in the General Synod or elsewhere, were reproachfully called Henkelites, and their strict adherence to the symbols of the church, Henkelism. They bore the stigma patiently, were driven by these attacks to a closer study of the Word of God and of the Confessions of the church, and into closer union with one another. They appealed to posterity to vindicate their position. These doctrines were the themes of

[26] David Henkel was present and tried on several charges at this convention. Min. N. C. Synod, 1819.

[27] Lutheranism in America. W. J. Mann, p. 93.

discussion at their Synodical conventions, in the family and in the shops. However they may have erred in their methods and ill-advised, as some of their attacks upon the General Synod were, it must be conceded that they were honest in their convictions and struggles to establish the church upon her true foundation. Their loyalty to the truth as they saw and understood it, cannot be questioned. It is not too much to say that Henkelism was the salt that preserved the church in the southern section of our country from doctrinal putrefaction. Their boldness, their earnest pleas for the Augustana, animated others to examine anew the Confessions, who were thereby brought to a clearer apprehension of the rich treasures of truth therein contained.

The term Henkelite and Henkelism were met by the rejoinder Generalist and Generalism on the part of the Henkels, and was applied by them to all advocates of the General Synod. These terms were long in use in the churches connected with the Tennessee Synod, or in doctrinal accord with it.

Each party was zealous in the defense and promulgation of its views. Representatives of each traveled over the southern states, visiting congregations and settlements, preaching their respective views and challenging the position of the opponents. Many Lutherans had emigrated from the southern states into Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. These were visited by the Henkelites and enlisted in their cause. Where there was sufficient Lutheran element, congregations were organized and pledged to the defense of the pure doctrine. Pamphlets and books were issued by the Henkels from the printing house at New Market, Va., and assidiously distributed among the churches. Special agents were at

times sent out to introduce these works.[28] Many of these pamphlets and publications found their way into the western settlements. They were diligently read and the result was an intelligent laity. Some of the missionaries from the east who visited these Henkelite congregations expressed their surprise at the intelligence of the members and their acquaintance with the doctrines of the church. The publication house at New Market was the right arm in the Tennessee Synod's conflict. It has the honor of issuing the first truly Lutheran works in the English language in North America. It did more to arouse the Lutheran church in America to a Lutheran consciousness than any other factor in those trying times. In order that the churches might see for themselves which party occupied the true position the Synod ordered that a copy of the Augsburg Confession be deposited in every church.

In the earlier stages of the controversy the opposing champions were Rev. David Henkel and Rev. Gottlob Schober, but in the course of a few years other men on either side were drawn into the arena. Henkel was aggressive and sweeping in his charges of heterodoxy. The Generalists were put on the defensive at every point. They never knew from what quarter they would be assailed. All the existing Synods, together with the General Synod, were charged with having departed from the old landmarks. The Tennessee Synod alone, they contended, was sound in its teachings. "The Henkels confessedly receive everything found within the lids of the whole Concordienbuch," was the testimony of their chief

[28] In 1829 Mr. S. G. Henkel and his brother, Solomon, made a tour into North Carolina and Tennessee with a one-horse wagon-load of books to circulate in the churches.

opponent, and the strongest champion of the General Synod, Dr. S. S. Schmucker.[29] He was pastor at New Market, Virginia, from 1820–1825, the home of the Henkels. He was openly and repeatedly charged by them with teaching doctrines not in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. These charges Dr. Schmucker did not deny, but justified his course on the ground that the doctrines he rejected were Romish errors,[30] and what he received were fundamental to the Christian faith. The Henkels regarded all others bearing the Lutheran name as errorists. In 1823, when a Mr. Sechrist left the North Carolina Synod, and applied for admission into the Tennessee Synod, that body examined him and required him to renounce the errors of the former body and avow his belief in the doctrines of the latter.[31] On the other hand, the General Synod pastors regarded the Henkels as not in the Lutheran ministry, but as having separated themselves from the communion of the Lutheran church.[32]

While the Tennessee Synod was diligently promulgating the views held by it throughout the south and

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29 Luth. Church in America, p. 215.

30 Id., 219.

31 Minutes of the Tenn. Synod, 1823, pp. 8, 9.

32 Some years ago several individuals residing in North Carolina, who had previously been members of our church, on account of some dissatisfaction, separated themselves from our communion. They chose as their leader an individual named David Henkel, a weak, illiterate man, whose ground of dissent, as far as can be gathered from the crude, visionary and inflammatory publications, which have from time to time appeared either under his name or that of his sect, was that the Evangelical church had departed from the true doctrines of the Reformation, which he and his church had attempted to restore.—Extract from sermon by the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., Luth. Church in America, p. 216.

west, the Pennsylvania Synod also was active in missionating in the same regions, especially Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. These missionaries as a rule were in sympathy with the General Synod. It was not long until the controversies which harassed the church in the east and south also found an echo in the west. The lines were sharply drawn, and there was scarcely any fellowship between the churches of the different parties. Whatever may have been the aim of the Generalists, it is quite plain that it was the purpose of the Henkelites to win the churches in these regions to their views, and hold the key for the future.

At first the advantage lay with the Henkelites. The missionaries from the east could not overcome the opposition offered. Revs. David, Charles and Paul Henkel were strong controversialists, and their influence was powerful and far-reaching. They were incessantly active. They visited the congregations throughout the country and set forth the Lutheran doctrines, quoting the confessions of the church as proof for their statements, and showing their harmony with the Word of God. Their opposition was not solely against the Generalists, but also against Unitarians, Methodists and Baptists. While these men lived and labored the Generalists were practically powerless to advance their work in the west.

To secure the advantages gained, and in order to carry on their work more efficiently, the organization of a synod for Kentucky, in harmony with the Tennessee Synod, was soon agitated. Rev. Henry A. Kurtz had been sent by the Pennsylvania Synod as a missionary to Kentucky in 1818. He was a Generalist, but coming face to face with the teachings of the Henkels, he became a convert to that type of Lutheranism, and was active in

disseminating these views. By this course he incurred the displeasure of some of the General Synod pastors in the state, and resigned his commission as missionary. In 1821 he addressed a letter to the Tennessee Synod, asking aid in forming a synod for Kentucky, in harmony with the doctrinal basis of that body, and also deploring the innovations that prevailed in some synods. In this project he met with hearty encouragement on the part of the Tennessee brethren. After much planning and correspondence, a call was issued for a convention to be held September 28, 1822, in Harrison church, Nelson county, Kentucky, to take such steps as may be necessary for the organization of a synod to embrace Kentucky and Indiana. This was the first convention of Lutherans held so far west. There were present at this convention one minister and fourteen lay delegates, representing as many congregations in Kentucky and Indiana. A report of the proceedings of this convention was made to the Tennessee Synod, and upon hearing the same, it authorized the holding of another convention the next year. The convention of 1823 was held in the same place, on the third Sunday in June. Revs. Paul and David Henkel and Captain John Bible were appointed to represent the Tennessee Synod. The minutes of this convention were published, and all the actions of the convention approved by the Tennessee Synod, and its aid and co-operation promised in the movement.

The immediate effect of this convention was gratifying to its friends. The congregations that were represented in it became warmly attached to the position of the Henkels. Most of these were favorable to them before the convention was held, but now they became enthusiastic. Rev. Jacob Zink had visited all the congre-

gations in the region embraced in the contemplated synod, in 1821, and found them in harmony with the position of the Tennessee Synod. The next year Rev. Christian Moritz was instructed by synod to visit the congregation at Jeffersontown, Kentucky, and preach for them. This he did, and the result was that the year following they petitioned the synod for a pastor, and especially for David Henkel. In 1825 Rev. David Henkel visited them, and remained for a portion of the year. While here he wrote the larger part of his "Answer to Joseph Moore, the Methodist." The preceding year a congregation in Harrison county, Indiana, petitioned synod for a pastor. While it appears that about all the congregations in the bounds of the contemplated synod were in accord with the views of the Henkels the time had not yet come, in the judgment of those having influence, for the organization of a Kentucky Synod.

The work so auspiciously begun in the interests of the conservative Lutherans ended, however, in a failure to realize their fondest hopes. It is not certain that another convention was held in Kentucky. A number of causes interposed to defeat the movement. The Henkels had a determined opponent in Rev. Wm. Carpenter, who served congregations in Boone county, Kentucky, and had considerable influence in other sections of the state. He foresaw the plans of the Henkels and Kurtz, and exerted his influence for their defeat. When missionaries from the east came to Kentucky, he advised them to go to Indiana, so as not to come under the teachings and influence of the Henkelites. Further opposition was also encountered in the Rev. Mr. Zaesline, who labored at Bardstown, Kentucky. It was impossible to unite all the congregations in the state in the project, and this fact im-

peded the movement until the opportune time was past.

Other causes also interposed. Rev. Jacob Zink, an ardent Henkelite, moved into the interior of Indiana, in 1823, and died there four years later. Rev. Henry Kurtz went to Pittsburg July, 1823.[33] In 1825 Rev. Paul Henkel was called to his reward, after a life full of labors, and six years later his gifted son, David, succumbed to a malignant disease. With these strong men removed from the sphere of action, and no one able to take up the work with the zeal, ability and energy they displayed, the cause of the Henkelites in Kentucky gradually waned.

On the other hand, the Generalists became more and more aggressive. The Henkelites had lost strength in North Carolina, and the whole Lutheran church in America made them the target for attack. "The Lutheran Intelligencer" published letters and articles against them. The editor, Rev. Dr. D. F. Schaeffer, in 1827, says of them: "From these (several recent letters from North Carolina) we learn that those who represented themselves as Lutherans, the Henkelites, are sinking in the estimation of all who know by experience and from the sacred scriptures that to be born again and made meet unto salvation is more than to be baptized. Nay, others are induced to inquire into those matters and acknowledge that the doctrines taught by our regularly authorized ministers are scriptural, and that those who have arrogated to

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33 Kurtz is described by his critics as a small, insignificant man, with a long beard, a strong voice, a disagreeable, dissatisfied man. Despite this description, it is evident that he was a man of courage, of great resources, of unfailing devotion to the Evangelical Lutheran faith. He swerved not in the stress of severe persecution. With him the right thing was the chief thing. Among the martyrs for truth Henry Kurtz is named as a faithful witness in the midst of a perverse generation.

themselves the authority to teach without submitting to an examination or ordination by one or other synod have departed from the true faith." [34] These charges had their effects. The seminary at Gettysburg, under the leadership of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the uncompromising opponent of the Henkelites, was training young men for the ministry, a number of whom sought fields of labor in the west. The Henkelites, having no institution of any kind for the training of ministers, could not recruit the ministerial ranks so as to hold the advantageous points secured. In 1824 Rev. Wm. Jenkins, an ardent advocate of the General Synod, and of New Measures, located in Bedford county, Tennessee, and took charge of ten congregations. He could electrify any audience, and wielded a powerful influence. In 1833 Rev. Wm. Carpenter died and was succeeded by the Rev. Jacob Crigler, a man of considerable influence, and of decidedly revivalistic tendencies. Rev. George Gerhart located at Corydon, Indiana, about the same time, and Rev. George Yeager at Jeffersontown, Kentucky. These men were warm adherents of the General Synod, and disciples of Dr. S. S. Schmucker. They were uncompromising opponents of the Henkelites and all conservative tendencies. With the leaders in the Henkel party removed by death and no one to resist their movements, they entered wherever there was prospect of winning adherents. Their methods were those so popular in that day. Emotional religion was the order. The catechetical methods of the Henkels were criticised and found fewer and fewer adherents. In the course of ten years the Generalists had secured control of almost every congregation in Kentucky and Indiana that

[34] Luth. Church in America, p. 218.

had been served by the Henkelites, that is, those congregations which survived the crucible of the transition. More congregations perished than survived. Several congregations in the interior of Indiana, and a few in southeastern Missouri, were all that remained to the Henkel party. Those in Illinois passed into the hands of the Generalists.

The Henkelites were unable to hold the grounds secured through the energetic and self-denying labors of their missionary pastors, chiefly because they had no seminary to prepare candidates for the ministry. The Tennessee Synod had a constitutional provision that synod shall not have an incorporated theological seminary. They believed and insisted on having educated ministers, and that they receive adequate theological instruction, but contended that the various schools throughout the country furnished the opportunities for the first qualification, and that the other could be secured by studying under some competent divine. The time required for a candidate to fit himself for the office under these regulations was so long, and the study so desultory, that but comparatively few of those who began ever completed the course of study. The recruits were scarcely sufficient to fill the ranks as they were depleted by death and disability.

Another defect in their system was the lack of a settled pastorate, and of the organization of a specific field as a parish. The pastors served all the congregations as their time permitted. They were all itinerants. Systematic personal and pastoral work was thus out of the question. While these men were imbued with a fervent missionary spirit, traveling, preaching, and organizing congregations as their time and strength permitted, and that too without

any remuneration scarcely, they opposed any organized and systematic missionary effort, supported from a specific mission fund. A congregation once organized had to petition synod annually for pastoral services, and in answer to its prayer, synod would instruct and direct one or more of its pastors to visit it and minister to its spiritual needs. So long as the petitions came to synod, so long the congregations were supplied and regarded as belonging to the synod. When the petitions ceased, the service also ceased, and the congregation naturally fell into decay. Had the Tennessee Synod, in its early history, set permanent pastors over certain congregations as their specific parishes, in Kentucky and Indiana, as those congregations were organized, the subsequent history of the church in these states would have been very different.

On the other hand, the General Synod was able to go in and cultivate what the Tennessee Synod had sown. In 1826 the seminary at Gettysburg was opened, and in a few years the graduates of that institution were found penetrating these regions, and zealously building up congregations. By the year 1835 the Tennessee Synod had lost almost all it had in Kentucky.

But the intention to form another synod in harmony with the Tennessee Synod was not abandoned with the failure of the movement in Kentucky. The efforts were now confined to Indiana, in which many members from churches in Tennessee and North Carolina had settled, and many were still coming. Rev. John L. Markert, who had labored for some years in Ohio, located in the state, first in Fayette, then in Fountain county. Rev. Christian Moritz, after laboring in North Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri, located in Greene county, 1829. Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, son of Rev. Philip Henkel, came to the state

as a missionary adventurer in 1833, and made his home in Boone county. Rev. Abraham Miller, a deacon of the Tennessee Synod, located in the state in 1828, and subsequently made his home at Bluff Creek, Johnson county. Rev. Jacob Zink had labored in different parts of the state for four years prior to his death in 1827. Besides these pastors, there were two men in Missouri who proposed to unite in the movement, Deacons Conrad F. Picker and Ephraim R. Conrad. These were all men of fair attainments. Conrad had been under the care of the Tennessee Synod as a candidate for the ministry since 1833, and labored in Wayne county, Missouri. Mr. Picker was a scholarly man, who had studied at Halle, and was of a retiring disposition. He had been ordained deacon by some synod, and had labored quite acceptably and successfully for some years among the scattered Lutherans in Cape Girardeau county. He was met in 1836 by Rev. C. F. Heyer, who says: "Why this young, well educated theologian had, as it were, concealed himself in such a remote district was strange and puzzling to me."[35] What became of him we do not know. He labored for some years in the state, and then is lost sight of. The other men were, with the exception of Abraham Miller, quite well educated. They knew the doctrines of the Lutheran church, and their fidelity to them was unquestioned. They had no sympathy with the new measures that were growing so much in favor among the General Synod congregations. They opposed all revivalistic tendencies. Feeling their isolation in being so far removed from their brethren in the south, they desired a closer union with one another, so that more united efforts

[35] Life of Heyer, 64.

might be made for upbuilding the suffering church, and resisting the onslaughts of the sectarians. Several conferences were held when the subject of forming a new synod was discussed. The experience and fate of the Kentucky movement made them hesitate. But they felt that something must be done to relieve the suffering condition of the church. Convinced that united action was the proper course, a call was issued for a convention, to be held in St. John's church,[36] Johnson county, Indiana, August 15, 1835. At this convention the prospects and needs of the church in Indiana were again taken into prayerful consideration, and the decision was unanimously reached that the time was at hand for the organization of an Evangelical Lutheran Synod for Indiana. The outcome of the convention was, that the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana was formally organized August 15, 1835. This was the first Lutheran Synod organized west of Ohio.

The persons present at the convention, and who entered into the organization formed, were Rev. John L. Markert, Rev. Christian Moritz and Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, Deacons Abraham Miller, Conrad F. Picker and Ephraim R. Conrad. The laymen, representing some ten congregations, were Jacob Keesling, Henry Stine, Daniel Sechrist, Frederick Slinkard, Moses Hovis, Matthias Sappenfield, and Henry Good. Deacons Miller, Conrad and Picker were examined and ordained to the pastoral office, Revs. John L. Markert and Christian Moritz performing the act. This was the first Lutheran ordination service held in the state.

This synod adopted the constitution of the Tennessee

[36] This was a small log church, built a few years before.

Synod, with its accompanying remarks[37] as its basis and guide. Its doctrinal position was clearly defined. It received the Augsburg Confession as a true declaration of the principal doctrines of faith and of church discipline. It expressed its conviction that the Confession contained nothing contrary to the Scriptures. It allowed no minister in its communion to teach anything repugnant to any article of the Augsburg Confession. Luther's Small Catechism was also received, because it contains a compendium of scriptural doctrines, and is of great utility in the catechization of the youth. The Tennessee Synod and its daughter, the Synod of Indiana, were the first Lutheran synods in America that unqualifiedly received the Augsburg Confession.

The movement resulting in the organization of the Synod of Indiana was hastened by a similar movement among the General Synod pastors residing in the west. In the year 1834 several Lutheran clergymen, residing in the states of Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, decided to call a convention for the purpose of considering the propriety of organizing an Evangelical Lutheran synod in the west. The movement was sanctioned by prominent men of the church in the east, and approved by those eastern synods to which the pastors respectively belonged. Synodical organization and powers were desired by these pastors, for they felt very keenly the need of a closer union and the concentration of their forces. The call was issued and the convention assembled in Christ's Church, Jeffersontown, Kentucky, October, 1834. Revs. Jacob Crigler, George Yeager and Wm.

[37] This constitution, with its remarks, was adopted by the Tennessee Synod in 1828. The remarks were written by Rev. David Henkel.

Jenkins, and Messrs. David Mattheis, Ephraim Tanner, and John Shofner were the pastors and laymen composing the convention. The eleventh and twelfth of October were spent in devotional exercises. On Monday, the 13th, the convention organized, and Revs. J. Crigler and Wm. Jenkins were elected president and secretary respectively. Committees were appointed to report on "The Situation of the Church in the West," "Communications," and on "A Synopsis of the Doctrines of the Church, which are either Misrepresented or Misunderstood in this Western Country." This synopsis covered the following points: The Doctrine of the Atonement, the Influence and Operation of the Holy Spirit in Regeneration, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Free Communion, Practical Piety, Religious Feelings, and Women. The report is quite lengthy, and gives a clear statement of the views held by these pioneer pastors. The most space is devoted to Baptism, laying special stress upon the mode and the subject. These statements of their views were deemed necessary because of the Calvinistic Baptists, who were numerous in Kentucky, and who held to a limited atonement; of the Methodists who did not regard the Lutherans as converted, and as not believing in sanctification, and because of the rapid strides made by Campbellism, which attacked and misrepresented the Lutheran view of the nature, mode and subject of baptism. This synopsis was printed in the minutes and widely circulated, and did much to establish the laity against the attacks of these rampant sects. After a three days' session, the convention adjourned to meet the next year at Louisville, Kentucky. It was at this second convention that the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West was organized. Rev. Jacob Crigler was its first president, and Rev. W. Jenkins,

secretary. The date of the organization was October 5, 1835. The following pastors and laymen composed the synod: Revs. Jacob Crigler, William Jenkins, George Yeager, Peter Rizer, John J. Lehmanowsky, and Messrs. Ephraim Tanner, John Scivally, Philip Berice, Matthias Link.

The Synod of the West entered aggressively upon the cultivation of the field open to it. Arrangements were made for the supply of vacant congregations, and a committee was appointed to survey the territory for the purpose of establishing new congregations where there were Lutherans.

The aim of this synod was also to unite the Lutheran element in these regions into one body, and further, it hoped to attract to itself ministers of other denominations, resulting in the realization of that dream of some of the leaders in the east, the formation of an American Lutheran Church which should embrace all protestants in America. In order to reach this result, the synod made its doctrinal basis very indefinite. There is nothing in its constitution defining its doctrines, only the word Lutheran. In its form of license and ordination it required of its candidates an acknowledgement that "the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession in a manner substantially correct." This allowed great latitude of opinion, and there were not a few who took advantage thereof. Everyone could decide in his own mind what were the fundamental doctrines, and to what degree they were correctly set forth in the Confession. Upon this platform almost any Protestant could stand; to this declaration almost every Protestant, except a true Lutheran, could subscribe. The aim of the Synod of the West was to

make its doctrinal basis so broad and liberal that it would unite not only all the Lutherans in the west, but would also attract the pastors and congregations of other denominations, and thus realize a union of Protestants in this region. This hope it did realize to a certain degree. Pastors from the German Reformed and from the United Brethren churches were received as members of this body, and without any renunciation of their peculiar views. Even a Roman Catholic priest applied for membership. He was required however, to renounce his papistical views.

In order to realize its purpose to unify the Lutheran element in these regions the synod made overtures to the Synod of Indiana for a union. This step was first officially suggested by President Jacob Crigler in his report to synod in 1836. A committee was appointed to address the Synod of Indiana upon this matter. The latter body responded by the appointment of a similar committee to confer with them. But the results were disappointing to the Synod of the West. It mistook the temper of the Indiana pastors, and underestimated their convictions. The committee reported that "the Providence of God had not yet indicated the way and means for the consummation of the desired object." In 1837 the Synod of Indiana held a special session for the purpose of taking the necessary steps for effecting a union with the Synod of the West. To this special session the members of the Synod of the West were invited. We have not the minutes of this special convention, but it appears that none of the invited pastors attended. The conditions upon which the Synod of Indiana agreed to unite with the Synod of the West were the following: 1. That the Synod of the West rescind its action which

attaches it to the General Synod. 2. That we oppose the falsely so-called benevolent societies of today, such as Tract, Temperance, Missionary, Bible, and a host of other such fantastical societies.[38] But the Synod of Indiana also misjudged the spirit and temper of the pastors of the Synod of the West, if it believed that these terms would be acceptable. A union was absolutely impossible. The Synod of the West replied that they regretted that these brethren, otherwise so actively engaged, should labor under such unfounded prejudices and misapprehensions. Each party now understood the other more fully, and all further attempts at union along this line were abandoned.

The immediate effect of this effort was to widen the breach between the two bodies. The questions involved were discussed through the press and from the pulpit. The Tennessee Synod was again made the target of attack on the part of the adherents of the General Synod, and in its defense the Synod of Indiana joined. In his sermon before the South Carolina Synod in 1838 Dr. John Bachman arraigned the Tennessee Synod, against which it solemnly protested, claiming that "the allegations were without the least shadow of foundation, or slightest approximation to the truth." The Virginia Synod also, by resolution, did "not recognize the members of the Tennessee Synod as Evangelical Lutheran

[38] This attitude toward such societies was common to almost all the denominations in these regions at that time. It is possible that the Indiana pastors were influenced by Alex. Campbell's denunciation and arraignments of all such societies, and those who fostered them. In the south, from which these pastors came, opposition to "missionary efforts" was very decided on the part of all denominations. See American Church History Series, Vol. II. pp. 490, 491.

ministers."[39] In these attacks upon the mother the daughter synod considered itself also attacked and arraigned. The controversy became so violent that the Synod of the West appealed for its subsidence, as it wrought great injury to the interests of the church in the west.

We have not the minutes of the Synod of Indiana for 1838, 1839 and 1840, but from the subjects demanding its attention in 1841, and the instructions it gave to certain of its pastors, these men were defending themselves and their views with vigor against the attacks and charges of their opponents. This aroused a decided opposition in the congregations of the Synod of Indiana to the General Synod. Petitions came from them to the synod praying that the "methods, innovations and impositions of the Generalists here in the west be exposed." In reply to this request a committee was appointed whose duty it was to prepare an exposition of these methods and impositions, and publish the same in the minutes of the synod. It appeared in 1842, and produced a deep impression. Within two years after its appearance seven congregations, which had been affiliated with the Synod of the west, or other General Synod bodies, applied for reception into the Synod of Indiana and petitioned for pastoral services, and promised steadfastness in the defense of truth.[40]

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[39] Henkel, Hist. Tenn. Synod, pp. 94, 95.

[40] The methods of the Indiana pastors were not always above criticism. They would enter wherever there was hope of persuading the congregation to cast its lot with them. Once admitted to the pulpit, the pastor would appeal to the Confessions, and generally won the congregation to his side.

CHAPTER IV

Infidelity and Isms

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THE region in which we are tracing the history of the Lutheran church, was, during the first four decades of the nineteenth century, alternately swept by waves of unblushing and vaunting infidelity, and intense religious enthusiasm, which affected all denominations to a greater or less degree. Prior to 1800 infidelity and unbelief were rampant in the sparsely settled districts. In the initial year of the century a religious reaction against the prevailing scepticism began in the southern states, especially in Tennessee and North Carolina, and gradually swept northward through Kentucky and into Indiana, spreading over the whole southern portion of the state.[41] It put a check, for a time, upon the prevailing infidelity, but whether in the end it proved salutary to the cause of Christianity, is a question. Out of this revival grew the movements which culminated in the formation of several new sects, namely the New Lights, Shakers, Cumberland Presbyterians, and Campbellites or Disciples.[42]

In addition to these schismatic movements there were such extravagant practices engaged in by the revivalists, preacher and convert, and such arrogant claims put forth

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41 American Church History, Vol. V. p. 298, Vol. XII. p. 17.
42 Id. Vol. V. p. 327.

that did much to injure the cause of true religion and piety. Phenomena, such as "trances," "the jerks" and various cataleptic conditions were very common, and were regarded as evidences of the Holy Spirit's special presence and proofs of his saving power. These phenomena became epidemic, and affected all classes of persons. The master and the slave, the unbeliever and christian, the indifferent and the scoffer were indiscriminately and without warning, stricken down and lay in trance-like state, sometimes for hours. When they recovered, they told of visions and experiences that seemed supernatural. The effect of this upon the public was indescribable. The excitement produced was intense. The preachers took advantage of these strange phenomena and wrought up their audiences to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, while the impenitent and ungodly were in almost abject fear. Although these phenomena were the natural consequence of intense passionate and emotional effort, in harmony with psychological laws, and on these grounds all explainable, and not in any sense an evidence of the Holy Ghost's presence and power, yet the majority of those people sincerely believed them to be manifestations of divine power. There were men however who while unable to explain these phenomena, did not concede the claims of the advocates of the revival methods, nor regard them as evidences of divine favor.

So confident were the ardent advocates of this movement that these things were evidences and proofs of the divine favor and of the Holy Spirit's special presence, that they felt themselves warranted to attack and denounce all who disapproved and opposed their methods. The members of conservative churches were regarded by them as legitimate prey, and the clergy as deserving of attack

for their unspirituality. The old methods of preaching, the faithful use of the Means of Grace, and especially the catechization of the youth, were denounced as spiritless formalism. Under these persistent attacks and efforts to proselyte, the conservative churches suffered much, both by defection and by schism.

This tide of revivalism in a few years began to ebb, and was followed by another and far different movement, namely Universalism. It proved a withering, blasting foe, and wormed itself into the churches like a deadly serpent. It was first preached in Indiana in 1825, and the sentiments were readily accepted. To the masses it was more acceptable than infidelity. It promised to man, even to the most profligate and ungodly, as well as to the pious and faithful, an eternity of bliss, while unbelief promised nothing beyond the grave. For years this doctrine was zealously preached and became quite popular. Not many Universalist congregations were organized, but Universalist sentiment obtained in the minds of many, even those who were members of orthodox churches. It was looked upon as the ideal faith. It acted as an insidious spiritual poison, as a blighting force upon the spiritual powers, rather than a vitalizing energy. Its advocates, while in many cases unable to convince their hearers of the correctness of its tenets, succeeded at least in planting the seeds of doubt in their hearts, and left them to grow and bring forth bitter and disappointing fruits. A paper entitled "The Star of the West," devoted to the dissemination of Universalist doctrines, and published in the interests of the Universalist church, was issued from Cincinnati, and assidiously circulated among all classes. It was widely read and by its specious arguments appealed forcibly to the average reader. The wish in the unregenerate heart

became father to this faith, and the arguments appeared to it unanswerable.

This periodical came into the hands of many Lutheran laymen through the instrumentality of Rev. E. S. Henkel, and it wrought havoc with their Lutheranism. Henkel encouraged them to read it, and study its arguments, and its insidious poison destroyed their living faith. A number of laymen, prominent in the local congregations, and well known in the Lutheran church throughout Indiana, in their days, openly accepted Universalism and defended its doctrines. St. John's Church, Floyd County, Indiana, one of the oldest and numerically the strongest Lutheran congregation in the state at that time, and the one at Salem, Washington County, the only city congregation in the synod, were destroyed by the blasting influence of this heresy. But saddest of all some of the Lutheran pastors aided and abetted in this work. Rev. E. S. Henkel was openly charged with Universalism, and he confessed that it was his private belief. He did not publicly preach it. When he became convinced of its correctness, he acted consistently and demitted the ministry, and engaged in secular business. In this he continued about two years, from 1849—51, when looking upon a severe bodily affliction which came upon him regularly, as a visitation of Providence for his apostacy, he renounced his heresy and resumed the ministry.

Rev. E. Rudisill also came under its baneful influence. We have no evidence that he ever publicly preached this doctrine, but like Henkel he also demitted the ministry and engaged in the practice of medicine. For several years he stood aloof from the church, and grew quite reckless. But returning home upon one occasion he announced to his wife that he would resume the ministerial

office, which he did. But the effect of the apostacy of these two prominent ministers in the synod, upon the churches was disastrous. Their sincerity in their return to the faith was always doubted, and all their subsequent zeal could not atone for the evil they had wrought.

By the year 1850 Universalism had lost its charm for the Lutherans in Indiana, and the churches began gradually to recover from its baneful influence. While the churches of the Synod of the west suffered from revivalism and intense emotionalism, those of the Synod of Indiana were paralyzed and ravaged by Universalism.

During this period a violent controversy arose between the Baptist sect known as Disciples of Christ, or Campbellites, after their founder, Alexander Campbell, and the Pedo-Baptists, on the question of Baptism, its mode and subjects. Alexander Campbell had renounced Presbyterianism, in which faith he had been brought up, and attached himself to the Baptists, although he did not accept all the views of this denomination. Failing to induce the Baptist body to adopt his views, he withdrew from it and became the leader and founder of the sect above mentioned. He was a man of wide reading, scholarly attainments and unbridled ambition. He was a powerful debater, and enjoyed controversy. He was unsparing in his criticisms and condemnation of what he regarded unscriptural in other denominations, whether in practice or in doctrine. Of this he found, in his judgment at least, an abundance. But his chief issue was Baptism, the mode of its administration and the proper subjects for its reception, and the steps in the operation of the Holy Ghost. Campbell made many converts to his faith, recruiting chiefly from other denominations. From the Lutheran ranks he won Rev. Samuel K. Hoshour and

Rev. W. R. McChesney, a young man, and a member of the Synod of the West. He attended the "Great Debate" between Campbell and Rice at Lexington, Kentucky, 1843, and became a convert to Campbellism. There were a good many defections also among the laity. Everywhere the controversy raged. Public debates were common and attended by immense crowds. As a result the partisan spirit became very pronounced.

In order to counteract the influence of Campbellism and check the inroads it was making in the churches the Synod of Indiana was requested by a number of its congregations to have a treatise prepared on the "Mode of Baptism," and published as an appendix to the minutes of the synod. Rev. Ephraim Rudisill was selected to prepare the essay, and it appeared in 1843. The essay is a plain, logical and exhaustive discussion of the subject, and a clear presentation of the faith and practice of the Lutheran church, without any reference to the views and practices of other denominations. It did much toward arresting the tide that had set in toward Campbellism. Two years later Rev. Mr. Rudisill, at the request of the synod, published a treatise on "Infant Baptism" in the minutes of that body. This also was an able presentation of the teachings and practices of the Lutheran church.

These productions from the pen of Dr. Rudisill, because of the scanty literature on the subjects discussed, were widely circulated and diligently studied. They were commented on by the laity in every community where they were circulated. The faint-hearted Lutherans, who were yielding under the plausible arguments and ridicule of the Campbellites, took courage, while the followers of Campbell grew restive under the arguments of Rudisill. There went up a general request that this

Rudisill be silenced and his arguments be refuted. The tables were turned, and the ranks of Campbellism were in danger of defections. Something must be done. The attention of a certain Elder James Mathes, a veritable Goliath in the Campbellite camp, and editor and publisher of the Christian Review, a periodical devoted to the interests of the Disciple denomination, was called to the essays of Rudisill. Mathes, under the pressure of the general demand of his church, undertook to review the essay and refute Rudisill's arguments through the columns of the Christian Review.

These "reviews" continued from the July number, 1845, to the August number, 1846. After one or two had appeared, Rudisill's attention being called to them, he asked permission of Mr. Mathes to reply to them in the same paper. This request was granted, but after one or two "replies" had appeared the privilege was withdrawn, and Rudisill was denied any further hearing in the Review. He then asked that his essay might be printed in the Review, so that the readers might see the arguments pro and con, and the garbled extracts Mathes had published. This also was refused. This so wrought up the fiery Rudisill that he proceeded to write his "Reply to Elder Mathes," and publish the same at his own expense.[43] In his discussion he handles his opponent without mercy. In the opening pages Rudisill states the agreement that had been made between Mathes and himself as to the publication of the strictures and the replies in the Christian Review, and explains why that agreement was broken by Mathes, namely, that he feared a defection from the

[43] Rudisill boasted that he wrote his reply, cleaned his wheat and went to mill all in five days.

Campbellite ranks if Rudisill's replies were published. Prof. S. K. Hoshour is also charged with duplicity and cowardice in urging Mathes to break the agreement. Rudisill's reply is a masterpiece. It is logical, fair and conclusive. It was widely circulated throughout the state, and brought its author into great prominence as a controversialist. He was feared by the Baptists generally. He was ready to debate publicly the question of Baptism, in all its aspects with anyone, not even excepting Alexander Campbell. It is claimed by some of Rudisill's friends that an effort was made to induce Campbell to meet him in public debate, but that he declined.

The result of this controversy was very gratifying to the Lutherans, but rather disheartening to their opponents. They were now ready to keep silent. Their Goliath had met his David. There was none to be found in the ranks of the Baptists who was willing to take up the gauntlet laid down by Rudisill. Their arrogance and aggressiveness subsided, and for a decade or more the Lutheran churches had rest, and were strengthened and edified so far as the question of Baptism was concerned.

In the fourth decade of the century another revival swept over Indiana and westward to the Mississippi. It was attended with all the extravagancies common to those movements in that time. The congregations of the Synod of Indiana were slightly affected by this movement, owing to the conservative methods and the insistence upon catechization that still prevailed. There was, however, a tendency to yield in that direction. Protracted meetings were introduced by the Rev. E. S. Henkel, as a means of reaching a class of people who could not be reached by the catechetical method. They were not attended by any extravagancies or excitement, such as usually are con-

CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOR
Alexandria, Ind.

CHOIR OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH
South Bend, Ind.

ST. MARK'S CHURCH
Whitestown, Ind.

THE OLD ST. MARK'S CHURCH
Whitestown, Ind.

nected with the revival. The preaching was doctrinal and expository, and no attempt made to play upon the emotions. Everything was orderly. The services were held daily for a period of one or two weeks. After the sermon an opportunity was offered to those desiring to unite with the church to come forward during the singing of a hymn, and after examination by the pastor as to their faith, were admitted by baptism or confirmation. This custom, called "singing in members," was the result of the influence of Campbellism upon the Lutheran churches. It prevailed in many of the congregations in the state for over half a century.

The General Synod churches, however, were most powerfully affected by this revival, and were under its peculiar spell for a number of years. During a long period the synodical minutes abound with allusions to the revival spirit and with reports as to its effects. In 1839 the Synod of the West convened at Hillsboro, Illinois, and from the view-point of the revival, was perhaps the most remarkable in its whole history. Among the members of that body were Rev. Abraham Reck, Rev. Wm. Jenkins, and his brother, Rev. Daniel Jenkins, Rev. John Krack, Rev. Geo. Yeager, and others who were ardent advocates of the revival measures. Abraham Reck was a white-haired, venerable man of scholarly attainments, refined manners and extraordinary pulpit abilities. The brothers Jenkins were dark-complexioned men of great excitable and emotional qualities, capable of electrifying almost any congregation. Rev. G. Yeager was of small stature, well educated and of gentlemanly bearing. The conservative men were Rev. J. J. Lehmanowsky and Rev. Daniel Scherer. But these were carried for a time with the tide.

During this convention revival services were held every day and evening. "One of the most remarkable demonstrations of which I ever heard," says Rev. S. L. Harkey, D. D., who was present, "occurred at this synodical convention. One evening Rev. A. Reck preached to a very large audience on the parable of the Prodigal Son. It made a deep impression. Rev. Wm. Jenkins then recited a death-bed scene of a wicked man, and also of a child of God, making a very impassioned appeal to the people to repent. Stopping suddenly he exclaimed, 'How many are there here who wish to turn to God by repentance, as the Prodigal Son did to his father?' In an instant every soul in the house was upon their knees, and remained there weeping and praying for mercy. The scene beggars description. I have been in many so-called revivals since that day, among various fanatical people of different denominations, and have heard many sensational preachers, but I never saw anything before nor since, in all my life, like that scene in 1839 at this synodical convention. When at a late hour on the same evening the question was asked by one of the ministers, 'How many here believe and trust in Jesus Christ for salvation?' the whole assembly rose to their feet." [44]

This revival was considered of sufficient importance that an extended account of it was published in the minutes of the convention, from which we quote the following: "Silence reigned through the house save the speaker's voice only, and here and there a half-suppressed sigh or groan, which burst involuntarily forth from the breasts of deeply convicted sinners. The whole congregation became more or less moved. The place became

[44] Letter to Lutheran, Sept. 2, 1897.

truly awful and glorious, and it seemed that the time had come when a decided effort must be made upon the Kingdom of Darkness, and that under such circumstances to shrink from the task and through fear of producing a little temporary disorder, to refuse to go heartily into the work would have been nothing short of downright spiritual murder. This surely was not the stopping point. Accordingly those who specially felt desirous of an interest in the prayers of God's people were directed to kneel in their seats, when probably between fifty and one hundred persons were seen at once prostrating themselves on their knees before God, and thus testifying before heaven and earth to their lost condition, in which they found themselves. After this the scene became still more interesting. For the sake of convenience the mourners were invited to convenient seats, for the purpose of affording the brethren an opportunity of conversing freely with them upon their condition, and imparting instruction. The meeting continued in singing, exhortation and prayer until a late hour, when it was thought best to close. But the people, though invited to return at an early hour in the morning, were still loth to leave the house, so holy and blessed had the place become to them. About eighteen or twenty professions of religion were the fruits of this evening's meeting." The next morning's meeting is described as follows: "As usual, prayer meeting was held this morning. A much larger number than on former occasions attended; and from the character of last evening's meeting it might well be expected that this would be a solemn season. Such it truly was. That it was altogether orderly, some who are particularly 'conscientious' and scrupulous about getting a little 'lukewarm,' and much more so about getting 'hot,' might

doubt. Be their views as they may. If there was a flood of tears shed, of sorrow and repentance by convicted sinners, and of joy and gladness by converted believers, some audible weeping, sighing and groaning, some moving around and shaking hands, or a number in studying, exhorting or praying at once, or even some clapping of hands and 'shouts of glory,' it is likely yet that the meeting had an 'order' peculiar to its nature, and very much similar to that observed at Jerusalem by the apostles on the day of Pentecost. This meeting continued until it was necessary to give place for the transaction of synodical business. But the tardy movements of the people, and especially of the distressed, and their lingering looks as they withdrew, clearly indicated that they felt themselves still unwilling to leave the house of the Lord." At another time during this convention it was found necessary to invite the mourners to remove to the pastor's home in order to afford the synod an opportunity to close its business.

That these revival efforts were general, frequent and popular in the churches of the Synod of the West is evident, not only from the reports made by the pastors to the synod, but also from the following extract of a letter of Rev. Abraham Reck, one of the leading spirits in the revival movement:

"One Sunday morning I went to preach in S. As I rode along, I endeavored to think of a text from which to preach, but could find none to suit me. When I came to the church I had not yet determined on any particular text, and did not know what I should do. . . . Before giving out a hymn, I turned over the leaves of my Bible, but all in vain; nothing would suit, and in this dilemma I still remained while the hymn was sung. What was to be

done I knew not, but I thought I would ask God in prayer. A short time after I had commenced praying, the windows of heaven were opened, and more than one-half of the audience were on a sudden prostrated to the ground, crying out, with the most dreadful shrieks: 'What must I do to be saved?' I continued on praying with great fervency, and when the prayer was concluded I was lost in amazement at the singular sight the congregation presented. As I could not find a subject on which to preach, I changed the meeting into a meeting of prayer, and in this way we spent the usual time appointed for public worship. . . . I then appointed a prayer meeting for early candle lighting in a private house and particularly invited all who were convinced of sin to be present. We locked the doors and windows to prevent interruption from without, and endeavored to seek the Lord by diligent and earnest prayer. The God of prayer was truly in our midst, and the whole assembly were at work in mighty wrestling with Jehovah. No disposition was manifest to give over, and we continued until eight o'clock in the morning in this awfully solemn and delightful employment. As the room we were in was not large, we placed all those in the next room who had found peace in believing, and as soon as one was converted the door was opened and he would be welcomed in by those who were already there. Never did I see such rejoicing, such exceeding great joy, as in that room. They sang praises to God for deliverance, they embraced each other and strove with Jacob's God for the blessing on those who were yet groaning under the weight of sin. I can almost hear the glad sound of praise again, though twenty-five years have sadly dealt with my recollection.

. . . Oh! the memory of that night is precious! It fills my soul with gladness even at this distant period."

It was a time when these methods were popular in all the churches, and supplanted the custom of catechization. So attached to this one-sided emotionalism, called "English Lutheranism," did the Synod of the West become, that it not only endorsed the revivals in 1839, but insisted upon them in 1840. It advised its laity not to read "*Die Kirchenzeitung*" because it manifested an improper spirit relative to revivals, and opposed the efforts to do good. The Germans would not recognize it, but exposed it as dangerous and subversive of the essence and spirit of Lutheranism. The Synod of Indiana also opposed it, and in 1841 appointed a committee to write and publish an "Expose of the conduct of the Generalists, and show their attempts at subverting and destroying the Lutheran doctrines and discipline."

The high water mark of the revival measure was reached in 1842, the year after this synod united with the General Synod. By the following year a strong reaction had set in, due largely to the influence of Rev. F. C. D. Wynnekin, who located at Ft. Wayne in 1839. Being compelled to return to Germany on account of throat trouble, he returned to Indiana in 1843, a man of ripened powers and of confirmed Lutheran convictions. "He was a man of powerful frame, and a well educated mind, fiery and energetic, filled with a burning zeal to carry the Gospel of Christ to his countrymen in the western solitudes, of whose wants he learned through missionary magazines in the old world." No sooner did he become a member of the Synod of the West than he raised his voice against the revivalism he found there. He had published a portraiture of Methodism, in which he shows

clearly his opposition to such subjectivism and emotionalism. For this he was violently assailed by both, Lutherans and Methodists. And now he lifted up his voice in his own synod for the pure faith and churchly order and practice. In 1843 the subject of revivals provoked a spirited and prolonged discussion in the synod, which seemed to take precedence for a time over all other business. After that year, no further allusions to the subject are found in the minutes. In 1845 Wynnekin was sent as the representative of the Synod of the West to the General Synod, and there attracted prominent attention by his resolutions which he offered before that body. He moved "That the writings of Revs. S. S. Schmucker and Benjamin Kurtz, as well as the volumes of the Lutheran Observer, and other books and papers in which the doctrines and practices of the General Synod are set forth, should be sent to Dr. Rudelbach and Prof. Harless and others for examination, so that the orthodoxy of the General Synod might be demonstrated to the Lutheran church in Germany." This proposition was indignantly laid upon the table by the body. This was followed by another, namely, "That the General Synod hereby disavow and reject the aforementioned writings of Drs. S. S. Schmucker and B. Kurtz, as well as the Lutheran Observer and *Hirtenstimme* as heretical and departing from the saving faith." This demand was considered presumptuous, and not entertained for a moment. Wynnekin's influence was powerfully felt in the churches in these regions, and did much toward finally disrupting the Synod of the West. His congregation in Ft. Wayne, which he resigned in 1845, severed its connection with the Synod of the West, "because of the heterodoxy of that body."

While the congregations of the Synod of Indiana were but little affected in their policy by this tide of revivalism which swept over the region, yet they suffered many losses through defection of members. From the earliest settlement until the present time Indiana and portions of Illinois were the foraging grounds for the sects. The ecclesiastical freebooter was in the land going hither and thither, recognizing no one as a Christian unless he got his religion in his prescribed way. Lutherans especially were considered as lawful prey. They were not as a rule much given to making a display of their piety, nor to demonstrations in their worship, but their piety was none the less deep, fervent and heartfelt, and of a kind to which the evangelist was a stranger. They were for this reason shining marks for the proselyting evangelist. Every conceivable method was resorted to to "convert" these devout people. Pitiful pleadings, arrogant claims, specious arguments, captious criticisms of Lutheranism were employed as weapons. The end justified the means. If only these Lutherans would come to the anxious bench and get religion all the labors of the evangelist would be fully repaid. Methodist exhorters labored for their conversion, Campbellite elders for their immersion, and between these two forces many a congregation was in danger of subversion by the desertion of its members.

The congregations of the Synod of Indiana had much to endure, and the wonder is that any of them survived the successive waves of Infidelity, Universalism, Revivalism and other isms which beat upon them. As the revival movement just traced began to subside, another movement arose which wrought havoc in them. This was Annihilationism, or Destructionism, as it was popularly called. It is the doctrine of the utter and final

annihilation of the wicked. It is an effort to mediate between the orthodox view and that of Universalism. This doctrine had by some means been imbibed by Rev. E. Rudisill, and he endeavored to foist it upon the churches composing the Synod of Indiana. It is doubtful whether Rev. E. Rudisill ever at heart believed this doctrine. He was intensely ambitious to become to the Lutheran church what Alexander Campbell was to the Presbyterian, the leader of a movement which would place him at the head of a new denomination. The doctrine of Destructionism he hoped would be to his cause what Immersion was to Campbell's. But be the question what it may, one thing is certain, that Rudisill made the effort of his life to place himself at the head of this movement, and lead a following out of the Lutheran church which should attain to a separate denominational existence. His popularity arising from his controversy with Elder Mathes, he had the vanity to believe would gain him a following that could not be resisted. He trusted to his skill as a debater and controversialist to beat down all opposition that might be aroused.

He began the promulgation of this heresy as early as 1845. He visited most of the congregations and sowed in them the baneful seeds. He had, by specious arguments, flattery and threats, enlisted in his cause the Revs. Elias Markert, Samuel Good and possibly also Rev. J. H. Vagan, members of the Synod of Indiana. Through the system of the itinerant ministry that existed in the synod, the heresy was preached in almost every congregation of the synod, and many converts made to the new doctrine. With the laity Rudisill had almost unlimited influence. His word was to them yea and amen. Through the congregations he and his followers visited,

he had memorials sent up to the synod for such legislation as he deemed best to promote his ambitious schemes. Secretly and gradually their plans were formulated, and they bided the time for their execution. Rudisill was elected president and secured such legislation at the hand of the synod as to clothe him with almost arbitrary power. No pastor of the synod could enter into a public debate without his consent and approval. No candidate for the ministry could be advanced without his sanction. This absolutism he was not slow in exercising. Flushed with what seemed so easy a victory, he grew bolder and bolder. He challenged the Rev. E. Greenwald, then at Columbus, Ohio, and editor of the Lutheran Standard, to discuss the doctrine through the columns of that paper. To this Rev. E. Greenwald could not consent. In 1848, at the meeting of the synod in Johnson county, Indiana, Rudisill believed all things were ready for his *coup d' etat,* to foist the doctrine upon the synod as an article of faith. A few delegates were there who would not consent, and an effort was made to decoy them away by arranging for a service at a neighboring school house. But the delegates suspected something and remained at the church. Rev. Samuel Good, a young man of excellent qualities, and a fine preacher, was put forward by Rudisill to preach, and set forth the new doctrine. But he utterly failed, and broke down, so that Rev. Mr. Rudisill had to come to his relief and finish the discourse. The next day three lay delegates, John Downey, of Knox county, Daniel Myers, of Daviess county, and Frederick Slinkard, of Greene county, filed their protest against the innovation, withdrew from the convention and went home. A reaction set in. The outcome of the affair was that the synod was disrupted, many of the congregations became divided,

litigation for the possession of the property followed, and a pall settled upon the whole synod. The church suffered severely. In 1851, Rev. Samuel Good died, after having bitterly repented of his folly and renouncing the heresy. Markert abandoned the ministry and Rudisill, by pretensions and denials, succeeded in persuading the synod to believe that he never held any but orthodox views. By this movement the Synod of Indiana lost four of its pastors, one a young man of great promise, and some eight or ten congregations, besides its reputation for orthodoxy. The details of this movement are fully given in the chapter on the Synod of Indiana.

The affairs of the synod assumed a deplorable condition as a result of the acts of the Rudisill party, and the defection of Rev. E. S. Henkel to Universalism. Rudisill's prestige and influence was gone, and he was restive under the odium of defeat. His vanity was severely wounded, and he smarted under the criticism poured upon him from all quarters of the church. His defeat in the courts was a stunning blow to his ambition. But notwithstanding all this, he was resolved to retrieve his losses, and to regain his former influence. In 1850 he with Revs. S. Good and E. Markert were publicly examined before the synod as to the heretical doctrines charged against them, and their defense apparently satisfied that body. But the sincerity of their repudiation of Destructionism was doubted, and Rudisill did not find it so easy to resume his former position and influence. In 1852 the synod reaffirmed its adherence to the Augsburg Confession with a unanimous vote.[45] A revised constitution was also sub-

[45] This was due to the adverse criticisms made by other synods and ministers upon its doctrinal position. Rudisill was not present at this convention.

mitted and adopted the next year. The synod hoped by this plan to retrieve its reputation for orthodoxy.

Rev. E. S. Henkel had gone off into Universialism, but he did not like Rudisill's endeavor to foist it upon the synod as an article of faith, nor to draw a following after him. He simply relinquished the ministry and moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where he engaged in secular business. In about two years he returned to Indiana, went before the synod, confessed his sin, renounced his errors and re-entered the ministry. His zeal thenceforth cannot be questioned. The churches forgave him and received his messages with greater joy, for his return to the Lutheran position was to them a living proof of the unsatisfying character of Universalism. He remained in the ministry until his death.

Through the Rudisill heresy the synod lost the Revs. J. F. Lautenschlager, David and Abraham Miller, Rev. S. Good (died in 1851.) Rev. J. L. Markert's gray hairs were brought in sorrow to the grave in 1852 because of his son's defection and the synod's disruption. Enfeebled by old age, he could do little to stem the tide of Destructionism. Rev. Enoch Goodwin died in 1851. Rev. Mr. Keester left the synod, and Rev. J. H. Vagan disappears from view. The convention of 1852 somewhat encouraged the disheartened little band. Rev. Wm. H. Deck was that year added to the ministerial rank by ordination, and proved to be a pillar and stay in that body. He was without doubt the most brilliant, able and lovable man in the synod during its whole history. Of scholarly attainments, keen wit, and unreservedly accepting the Lutheran faith, he was more than a match for either Rudisill or Henkel. He had no sympathies with the heresies that had vexed the synod for years and had

distracted and disrupted his church. He was earnest and aggressive in his work, and a true son of the church, preaching her doctrines faithfully and eloquently. He opened an academy in Newberry, Indiana, and had many pupils. He continued this institution until health and strength failed him. He began a work against Unitarianism, which promised to be an able production, but he did not live to complete it.

Besides Rev. W. H. Deck another worthy accession to the synod was in the person of Rev. D. P. Groundt. He gave promise of great usefulness, but in a few years with Rev. Eli Myers, moved to Texas. These men, with the Rev. John P. Livengood, were the hope of the synod. The secretary expressed the synod's hope "that these proceedings may tend to the bringing about of a speedy, an honorable and an amicable adjustment of all existing difficulties; that the dilapidated walls of our distracted Zion may be speedily rebuilt, and she again maintain an honorable position among her sisters of other states, and thereby promote the best interests of the church at large."

But the troubles that vexed the churches could not be removed by pious resolutions. Time alone could efface the effects of the terrible blow they received. The dilapidated walls could not be rebuilt in a day, nor the scars effaced at will. The demon of discord and jealousy still rankled in the bosoms of some, and on every favorable occasion would exhibit its ugliness.

In 1853 the synod adopted the new constitution, and cherished the hope that it could thus restore itself to the confidence of the church. In 1854 Rudisill expected to remove from the bounds of the synod and asked for an honorable dismissal, which was granted, but which the secretary, Rev. E. S. Henkel, failed to note in the pro-

ceedings. He changed his plans, however, and remained in the state. But he took umbrage at the secretary's oversight, and refused to attend the convention of 1855. He demanded as a condition of returning that the synod take action upon certain political questions, which it declined to do. He therefore remained out of practical connection with the synod until it disbanded.

Troubles began to multiply. Rev. E. Markert demitted the ministry on account of throat trouble, but most probably on account of Rudisill's influence over him. Rev. H. Fairchild became discouraged and advocated the dissolution of the synod. It was found in 1857 that the new constitution had not been signed and therefore ineffective. The synod therefore organized under the old instrument, and then adopted and signed the new, and formally organized under the new constitution. But how this synod had diminished! Two pastors, three students and six lay delegates were all that were present at the twenty-second convention. But these few were dauntless. They set about to re-enlist the co-operation of the disaffected and discouraged pastors, and to induce candidates to offer themselves for the ministry. Rev. J. P. Livengood was elected president, and proved himself a good, able and wise leader. His popularity was growing and he deserved it. He was ably seconded by Rev. E. S. Henkel and Rev. W. H. Deck. By the next year several more pastors were added to the synod, but when the time came for the synod to convene in 1859 there was consternation. Rev. W. H. Deck passed to his reward in 1858 in the prime of life and usefulness. He was followed by the synod's beloved secretary, Rev. J. P. Livengood. When Rev. E. S. Henkel heard of his death he wept aloud. A good and beloved man had fallen. There was

sorrow everywhere. Rev. E. Rudisill was still unappeased. Revs. John and Christian Good had removed to Iowa, and Fairchild was discouraged beyond measure. It seemed that fate had decreed the synod's destruction.

When the tidings of Livengood's death reached Henkel, who was president, he wrote to Rudisill and entreated him to renew his relation to the synod. It met in Whitestown in November, 1859. Henkel was unable to be present. Four pastors and three candidates were in attendance. Rudisill was there. Organization was effected by the election of Rev. H. Fairchild as president and Rev. Philip A. Peter secretary. A motion to give Rudisill a seat and voice in the synod was made, and although vigorously opposed by one delegate, Mr. Joseph Klingensmith, of Salem church, New Augusta, it prevailed. Rudisill accepted the offer, and the delegate withdrew from the synod. It was the opportunity for which Rudisill waited for years, and he was not slow in embracing it. With all his eloquence, pathos and biting sarcasm, he censured, browbeat and maligned the synod until it was ready to accede to his demands, namely that that body dissolve and cease its very existence.

Meanwhile the congregations composing the Synod of the West also had their difficulties and contentions. The revival measures were distasteful to the German pastors, who, after 1840, began to arrive in these regions from the Fatherland. They were men of a churchly spirit and of conservative tendencies. They were largely under the influence of Wynnekin, while he was in the synod, and to which body the most of these German pastors attached themselves. Besides the revival question, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper also came to the front, as well as several others. The synod grew rapidly in num-

bers. Its territory was extensive, embracing Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee. It was evident that a rupture on these above-named questions was inevitable. In 1846, by mutual consent, the Synod of the West was divided, not on doctrinal, but on territorial lines. The Indiana body retained the name, title and seal of the original body, and its historic continuity. The other two bodies were the Synod of Illinois, embracing the pastors and congregations in that state, and the Synod of the Southwest, embracing those in Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. But this division did not evade the doctrinal differences. The congregation at Fort Wayne officially declared that this division was only for the purpose of attaching the Synod of the West more closely to the General Synod, and it withdrew from that body. There were in this body men of the most opposite views, and they could not labor together in harmony. It became evident that that body would be short-lived. Rev. J. J. Lehmanowsky did all he could to perpetuate its existence, but failed. We have no evidence that another convention of this body was held after 1846, though there might have been. Several of its pastors, Germans drawn together by elective affinity and common sympathies, met in Indianapolis in 1846 and 1847 for mutual interests, enlightenment and encouragement, and in 1848 organized the Synod of Indianapolis. This was a German body, and grew rapidly. But in a few years it came in contact with the Missourians, who absorbed quite a respectable portion of its pastors and churches. The remnant continued under their organization, and eventually became merged into the Southern District of the Joint Synod of Ohio.

The English pastors of the Synod of the West, after

the dissolution or default of that body, were absorbed by the Synod of Miami, and the Olive Branch Synod organized in 1848. In the breaking up of the synodical organizations we note that the pastors attached themselves to those bodies which represented their respective doctrinal positions.

In a quarter of a century from the time that the Lutheran churches in Indiana were formed into synodical organizations, there was a general breaking up along the lines of their original aims, a readjustment of forces and a reorganization for further work. The causes that led to these were chiefly internal, although external causes had some influence. Among the German congregations there was a growth from the earlier rationalistic to a more distinctive Lutheran position, due chiefly to the labors of the pastors who came from Germany. There were two tendencies especially discernible, one which landed its congregations in the fold of the Joint Synod, the other in the bosom of Missouri. Among the English congregations, or rather the native American congregations, there also were two tendencies, the one leading to the unionism and revivalism of the General Synod, and the other to the conservatism of the General Council.

Thus far we have endeavored to trace the beginnings, the growth, the trial, and the results of the efforts of the Lutherans in the region under review. We have based our statements upon such material as has been available. The field is virgin soil, and we are conscious of the fact that we may have been mistaken in our judgment and conclusions on some of the questions discussed. A more extensive investigation and more thorough research may bring to light other material which would enhance the historical value of this work, and add interest to the narrative. We

now propose to present in detail the history of those synods whose work we have aimed chiefly to trace. In these subsequent chapters there will be repeated much of what has been presented before, but it will be in the connection where it most intimately belongs.

We regard the Synod of Indiana, the Union Synod and the Indiana-Chicago Synod as historically one body. The changes were those of names rather than of organizations. The same congregations, and the same pastors which constituted the dissolving body, formed the new organization. These two, the Synod of Indiana and the Union Synod, are the historical and logical antecedents of the Chicago Synod.

PART II

THE SYNODICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER V

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana

Chapter V.

The Synod of Indiana.

IT may very properly be said that the Synod of Indiana had its genesis in the settlement of Lutherans in North Carolina. In the early part of the Eighteenth Century there was a large Lutheran immigration into that state, but it was for the most part absorbed by the Episcopal church. On account of Indian troubles many were constrained to remove to other colonies. The enterprising Germans of Pennsylvania pressed southward toward the frontier of their state and then into Maryland, far down the Shenandoah valley into Virginia. These were largely families springing from those who had settled in Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster and York counties, strengthened by immigrants direct from the Fatherland. This stream of immigrants as early as 1750 reached North Carolina. Among them were many Lutherans who settled in Mecklenburg, now Rowan, and Cabarrus counties. Their first pastors were Rev. Adolf Nuessmann and Rev. Gottfried Arndt, who came to America in response to the petition sent by two laymen, one from Organ church in Rowan county and the other from St. John's church, Cabarrus county. They went first to Hanover, where the interest of the consistory was gained and then to London. The result was that the Lutheran church in North Carolina was placed in the hands of the Lutheran consistory at Hanover under

George III. of England. The constitution of St. John's church binds its pastors "to confess with the heart and mouth the symbolical books of our Evangelical Lutheran Church," and to send reports to Europe every six weeks.

During the Revolution the church in North Carolina suffered severely, but the pastors, Revs. Mr. Nuessmann and Arndt, labored faithfully during and after the war with marked success. Appeals were sent to the Helmstaedt Mission Society, and in response to them Rev. Charles Augustus Gottlieb Storch was sent over in 1788. He located in Salisbury, and entered diligently upon his labors. In addition to his original field he extended his labors to other points. He organized churches in Rowan, Lincoln and Cabarrus counties, and made missionary tours into South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

The first convention of Lutheran pastors in the state was held in May, 1794, in St. John's church, Cabarrus county. It was called for the purpose of ordaining Robert Johnson Miller to the Episcopal ministry. The ordination was performed in response to a petition from Mr. Miller's people in Lincoln county. His ordination certificate is still extant, and charges him to "obey the rules, ordinances and customs of the Protestant Episcopal church."

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania never exercised jurisdiction over the churches in North Carolina. They were under the care of a European missionary society, or else independent alike of the care or fellowship of any ecclesiastical body. Two causes led to the formation of the North Carolina Synod. The principal impulse leading to the organization seems to have been the religious awakening which passed over the country in the first years of the Nineteenth Century. The ablest minds of

the church in that section, Revs. C. A. G. Storch and Paul Henkel, became greatly disturbed and perplexed over the phenomena which they witnessed, and which in some measure unsettled their own people. They hesitated to call the movement fanatical, or to denounce it as unscriptural, for they discovered a remarkable change in persons who had been previously either ungodly in their lives or avowedly sceptical in their views. The German ministers were divided in their sentiments, and instead of alienating them, this movement drove them to more intimate communion with each other, and to investigate it more thoroughly.

A second cause was the cessation of help from the Helmstaedt Mission Society, about the same time. The churches were therefore thrown upon their own resources. Distracted by revivalistic excitement, and deprived of parental guidance and the material support of their friends in the Fatherland, they felt the need of united counsels and active co-operation for their own defense and prosperity, and "that the Gospel may be brought to many thousands of souls who have hitherto been necessarily deprived of the same," they met in Salisbury, May 2, 1803, and originated the Synod of North Carolina. The ministers present were Gottfried Arndt, Carl A. G. Storch, Paul Henkel and Robert J. Miller. There were fourteen lay delegates present also.

For some years the churches of this synod prospered. The pastors of South Carolina, with a few exceptions, united with it. But divergent tendencies soon appeared, arising chiefly from the revival of the study of the confessions, by which a Lutheran consciousness was developed, and which highly prized its heritage. This soon gave rise to questions that violently agitated the synod. They

were questions both of practice and of doctrine. The licensure system, which prevailed very generally in the church at that time, was disliked by an element in the synod, and the validity of ministerial acts performed by licentiates was questioned. An amicable controversy relative to this question was carried on with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but the decision reached by that body was adverse to the views of the conservative element in the North Carolina Synod. The lax practices that prevailed were another matter upon which divergent tendencies soon became pronounced. The synod's affiliation with Moravians and Episcopalians filled the conservatives with alarm, and the formation of a General Synod was the wedge that finally sundered the body.

The leaders in the conservative movement were the Henkels, Paul and his four sons, but especially David, the youngest son. They were close students of the confessions of the church, of the writings of Luther, and of the Word. They had a Latin copy of the Concordia, and from this they would make translations with which to sustain their positions. The correctness of these translations was questioned by their opponents, until David Henkel came into possession of a German copy, which settled the matter of the translations. The Henkels became convinced that the Lutheran church in America had departed from her confessional basis, and they were fearless in the expression of their convictions in the matter. They were determined to save her from casting off her birthright.

In 1810 the North Carolina Synod admitted into its ministerial ranks, by ordination, a man who was not a Lutheran, but a Moravian, Gottlieb Schober, and who remained in the communion of the Moravian church until

his death, although during all this time he served Lutheran congregations as a Lutheran pastor. At the time of his ordination he was fifty-four years old, a lawyer by profession and owner of large property interests, plantation, paper mill, and slaves. He had been a member of the North Carolina legislature, and wielded a wide influence socially, politically and religiously. In his practices he was decidedly unionistic, and upon his reception into the synod at once became a recognized leader, and the champion of the unionistic tendencies.

Besides Rev. G. Schober, there was another pastor in the synod who was not of the Lutheran faith, but an adherent of the Episcopal church. This was Rev. Robert Johnson Miller. True he had been ordained by the Lutheran pastors, but charged to teach in accordance with the doctrines of the Episcopal church. Notwithstanding this he served Lutheran churches for twenty-seven years. He was prominent in the work and councils of the synod, served as the synod's travelling missionary, and manifested deep zeal for the church. Besides these there was a unionistic spirit pervading the whole synod which filled the conservative brethren with alarm, and they were resolved that matters should go no farther without a protest. Many of their efforts to stem the tide were ill-advised, but none can question their sincerity, and time has vindicated the correctness of their judgment on not a few points upon which they were met with opposition and ridicule. It became evident, as early as 1816, even to the warmest friends of the synod, that a rupture was inevitable, and that only an occasion was needed to effect it.

The doctrinal questions that arose, and which were the source of different views and practices, were Original Sin, the Person of Christ, Baptism and the Lord's Sup-

per. On all these the synod's position was challenged by the conservatives, and with much reason, for the North Carolina Synod did not receive the Augsburg Confession in its entirety,[46] and the "Plan for a General Synod of the Lutheran Church," so warmly espoused by the unionistic element, was regarded as an effort to repudiate the Augsburg Confession.

The occasion for the rupture came in 1819 when, in order to send a delegate to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania for the purpose of considering the project of a General Synod, the North Carolina Synod met six weeks earlier than the appointed time. In thus changing the date of meeting the advocates of the General Synod movement overstepped their constitutional rights. The conservatives were not all notified of the change of date, and it appeared to them that this was a scheme to circumvent their opposition to that movement. Rev. G. Schober, the leader in the movement in the synod, and the pronounced opponent and antagonist of David Henkel on all the disputed questions, was elected to represent the synod at the meeting at Baltimore. All this tended to intensify rather than mollify the personal feelings and doctrinal differences that existed, and convinced the conservatives that their wishes and views would be disregarded by the majority. Rev. Philip Henkel gave notice that he could not recognize the irregular meeting. When the time came for the meeting of the synod, Trinity Sunday, 1819, he, his brother David Henkel, a catechist, and Rev. Joseph Bell, a licentiate, met at Organ church, Rowan county, for the purpose of holding the synod as per the adjourn-

[46] Rev. S. S. Schmucker, Luth. Church in America, pp. 214–216.

ment of the previous regular convention. At this convention David Henkel and Joseph Bell were ordained by Rev. Philip Henkel. As the use of the church was denied them for synodical business, the ordination took place in an adjoining grove. The proceedings of the untimely synod, as the other convention was termed, were declared null and void, and these three men assumed the name and title of the Synod of North Carolina. Warm controversies ensued, which developed a sharp conflict on doctrinal points, and rendered fruitless all efforts at reconciliation the following year, when both bodies assembled at the same time and place for the synodical convention. After an earnest discussion of their differences, the majority withdrew to another building. Those who remained soon adjourned, and a few months later met and completed the organization of the Tennessee Synod, (July 17, 1820.) This was the first rupture that occurred in the Lutheran Church in America.

The Tennessee Synod was the only Lutheran Synod in America at that time that unreservedly and unqualifiedly received the Augsburg Confession. The Henkels confessedly received everything within the lids of the Concordienbuch. They felt it their special duty and mission to challenge the orthodoxy of all other synods, and to oppose the General Synod, which they denounced as a hierarchy depriving the congregations of their rights, "a measure replete with mischief, threatening imminent danger to the liberties of the American people." It set itself diligently to the work of reviving the pure doctrine of the church, and by means of the printing press at New Market, Virginia, disseminated its views far and wide. It was exceedingly jealous of its name and faith, and required pastors from other synods desirous of uniting with

it to submit to an examination as to their faith. The leader and ablest exponent of the synod, until his death, was the Rev. David Henkel.

The work done by the pastors of the Tennessee Synod was thorough and solid. Catechization was faithfully practiced. Doctrinal preaching was prominent. The people were encouraged to study the Word, the catechism, the confessions, and the writings of Luther. This they did, and the result was an intelligent laity who could give a reason for their faith. The synod was averse to everything that savored of the sects, or of union of church and state. The constitution forbade the incorporation of the synod and a treasury for missions and education. But notwithstanding their mistaken idea about thorough organization for missionary operations, and for replenishing the ranks of the ministry, it did not dampen their ardor nor arrest their activity in prosecuting vigorously this work in their peculiar way. They were diligent in planting and watering, and trusted to the Lord for the increase. The statistics are very defective and not at all flattering in some respects, yet those pastors were all true and ardent missionaries. With no board to aid and direct their labors, with no treasury to support them, they made long, arduous but frequent journeys on horseback, over rough roads, through wild and thinly settled districts, exposed to serious dangers, and suffering untold privations, that they might bring the Gospel to their scattered brethren in the faith. Their time was spent in teaching, preaching, visitation, and the administration of the sacraments. The whole region south of the Ohio river was their territory, and they even penetrated the states north of that river, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, and beyond the Mississippi.

The exact date that pastors of the Tennessee Synod entered the state of Indiana we have not been able to determine. But as early as 1835 there were in the state at least four pastors belonging to that body. They were Revs. John L. Markert, E. S. Henkel, Christian Moritz and Deacon Abraham Miller. Two licentiates or candidates were in Missouri, namely, Ephraim R. Conrad, and Conrad F. Picker. Feeling their isolation, and the inconvenience of being so far removed from their synod, they had several conferences, at which the propriety of organizing a new synod was thoroughly discussed. Seeing the pressing needs of the church and the necessity of more united and concerted action for the welfare of the same, "a portion of the members of the Lutheran church in the west, believing it expedient that all ecclesiastical bodies should have some center of union, so that by their mutual considerations they may be enabled as much as possible to arrive at the truth, and take steps and devise means for the promulgation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, saw fit to invite as many of the Lutheran ministers and churches as practicable to meet in St. John's church,[47] Johnson county, Indiana," for the purpose of organizing, if deemed expedient, an Evangelical Lutheran Synod for Indiana. The date set for this convention was August 15, 1835. On that date three pastors, seven laymen, representing as many congregations, and three applicants for ordination as pastors, were present, to take part in the organization. The minutes are silent as to who was elected president, but doubtless the Rev. John L. Markert was honored with the office. Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel was elected secretary. The synod had no treasurer until

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47 This was a log building erected several years before.

1844. After a prolonged discussion they organized themselves into a synod, and adopted the constitution of the Synod of Tennesee, adopted by that body in 1828, with its accompanying remarks, as their constitution, and chose the name the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana. They addressed a letter to the Tennessee Synod, "entreating their former brethren not to consider this course as an intention to separate from them, but as a means of strengthening the same cause." The mother synod heartily approved the course pursued by these brethren in Indiana. The most cordial relations between these bodies were maintained for many years. Both bodies occupied the same position relative to the General Synod, and other Lutheran synods. Both were avowed champions of Henkelism, over against General Synodism, and this did much to cement their union and friendship, until the Destructionism heresy made its appearance in the Synod of Indiana.

The doctrinal position of this synod, being the same as that of the Tennessee Synod, was considerably in advance of other Lutheran bodies in the United States. "It was a time when all the tendencies of progress were in wrong directions, when the Lutherans in America were few, and those who maintained the doctrines of the church were fewer." These two bodies were then the only synods that formally and unqualifiedly received the Augsburg Confession. The Tennessee Synod took decided grounds on the doctrines of Original Sin, the Person of Christ, and especially on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It condemned all other synods as heretical and unlutheran, and especially the General Synod, whose position on these points was very indefinite. In these matters the Synod of Indiana concurred when it was organized

fifteen years later. It represented the pronounced type of Lutheranism in Indiana. It placed itself unequivocally upon the Word of God as the only rule of faith, doctrine and church discipline. It acknowledged without qualification the Augsburg Confession, "because it is a true declaration of the principal doctrines of faith and church discipline. Neither does it contain anything contrary to the Scriptures. No minister shall therefore be allowed to teach anything, nor shall this body transact anything that may be repugnant to any article in this confession." Luther's Smaller Catechism was also received and acknowledged "to contain a compendium of scripture doctrines, and is of great untility in the catechising of youth." "Lutherans acknowledge the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of doctrine and discipline; nevertheless, they receive the Augsburg Confession because it exhibits the same views as they have on the Scriptures, and is a formal declaration of what they believe. But if it were possible to prove that the views on the points of doctrine contained in the Augsburg Confession were erroneous it would be the duty of this body to renounce it; nevertheless, in that case they could by no means be Lutherans, as they would have rejected the views of Lutherans." The synod required all its candidates to "covenant to officiate only in accordance with the Augsburg Confession of faith." Such was the doctrinal position, officially declared, of the first Lutheran synod in Indiana. In the midst of the latitudinarian Lutheranism of the west, and the sneers and cavils of the sects in this new state, the Synod of Indiana stood out boldly as a precursor of better things for Lutherans in a future day. It would be a source of great satisfaction to the conservative Lutheran if it could be said that it

adhered faithfully to this position in its practices and acts in later days. But it cannot. It gradually yielded to the unlutheran tendencies, which led to the adoption of a new constitution in 1853, in which it expressed its doctrinal position as follows: "This synod acknowledges and receives the Holy Scriptures, namely, the inspired writings of the Old and New Testament scriptures, as the only rule of faith and church discipline; and as the great bond of union and of church fellowship among us." "This synod declares itself a Lutheran synod, because we acknowledge the Augsburg Confession of faith, ... to be on all the essential doctrines of salvation a true declaration of scripture principles, and upon the various doctrines and matters upon which they treat generally correct." This last clause was three years later, upon motion of Rev. W. H. Deck, stricken out, thus making its doctrinal statement more explicit.

The synod and its individual pastors were diligent in their efforts to spread the Lutheran doctrine, especially on those things concerning which the church's position was misunderstood or misrepresented. Not having a periodical of their own, and unable to support one, although several attempts were made to establish an organ, they made their minutes the means through which to disseminate the distinctive doctrines which they held. This was done by authorizing some member to prepare an essay upon a certain subject and have it printed as an appendix to the minutes. At the first convention the synod requested Rev. C. Moritz to prepare a treatise on Infant Baptism, and present it at the next meeting of the synod. This he failed to do, so far as the minutes show. In addition to this instruction of Rev. Mr. Moritz, the synod recommended to the membership of the churches

as sound doctrinal Lutheran literature and appropriate reading, the hymn book used by the Tennessee Synod, the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Small Catechism, and the Treatrise on the Incarnation and Person of Jesus Christ, by David Henkel. Rev. E. S. Henkel was authorized to procure a number of copies of each of these, and distribute them among the congregations. At the synodical conventions doctrinal discourses were delivered in order to fortify both pastors and people against the heretical views and lax practices of the sects and pseudo-Lutherans. In 1840 the synod instructed Rev. Mr. Rudisili to prepare a treatise on Infant Baptism, to be printed as an appendix in the minutes of the next year.[48] In 1841, at the synodical convention, Rev. E. S. Henkel preached a powerful sermon against "Innovations," and portrayed the evil consequences that would follow a departure from their established customs. This year's convention was replete with efforts to establish and promote sound doctrine and churchly practice. It was resolved that at each session of the synod a discourse be preached upon one of the following subjects: Justification, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, or the Reformation, the preacher to be appointed a year in advance so as to have ample time for preparation. Rev. E. S. Henkel was instructed to prepare a "form of ceremonies for the administration of the ordinances of the church," and submit the same at the next convention for examination and adoption. "During this convention Rev. E. Rudisill preached a strong sermon in defense of Infant Baptism." In 1842 Rudisill was requested by the synod to prepare a treatise on the mode of

[48] This, owing to sickness, he was unable to do. In 1844 the request was repeated.

baptism, to be printed as an appendix in the minutes of 1843. This he did. The essay is an able, forceful and logical presentation of the arguments in favor of sprinkling as a scriptural mode of baptism. As a controversial treatise it has merit, and its wide circulation among the churches had a salutary effect. It was diligently read and widely commented upon in the churches. It gave Rev. Mr. Rudisill a commanding position in the synod, and throughout the state a reputation for erudition and ability.

The synod granted the right to every congregation in its connection to have one delegate to its conventions. Each delegate had equal right and vote in the sessions of the synod with the minister. Indeed, no business could be transacted exclusively by either ministers or delegates. A layman on several occasions was elected secretary, and during one of the conventions of the Miller faction a layman was honored with the presidency.

In regard to the ministry this synod taught that there are two grades, deacons and pastors. It provided that as a prerequisite to ordination to either of these offices the individuals must be called to the office by one or more congregations. Ordination to the diaconate was a prerequisite to ordination to the pastorate. The licensure system was introduced about the year 1843, and was in vogue until the synod disbanded.

In its anxiety to avoid the recurrence of the evils that had arisen in the church in earlier ages, and believing the incorporation of ecclesiastical bodies to be an approach to the union of church and state, this synod made a constitutional provision forbidding the incorporation of the synod by any legislature or civil power. It also provided that it shall not have any incorporated theological

seminary under its care, nor any particular treasury for the purpose of supporting missionaries and theological seminaries. Their idea was that the candidate for the ministry could obtain his classical training at the academies and colleges then in existence, and his theological training under some competent divine. Time proved this provision to be very unwise. It prevented the synod from carrying into effect, in a business-like manner, the very things for which it was organized. Gradually the consciousness of this mistake dawned upon the minds of its members, but they hesitated to make a change. In 1844 a treasury was created "in order that the synod may have the necessary funds in readiness to meet any of its pecuniary wants." By-laws were drawn up to regulate and govern said treasury. These by-laws provided that "this treasury be for the exclusive purpose of defraying the expenses of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana." The original idea of no funds for missions and education still prevailed. In 1849 the synod laid before its congregations, for approval or rejection, an amendment to the constitution providing for a "treasury for the purpose of supporting missionaries and students at theological seminaries under the selection of the synod." It also expressed itself "that it is its opinion that it would seem just and right for the benevolence of christians to exercise itself in the assistance of such applicants for the ministry as are destitute of the means to educate themselves." The synod was convinced of the necessity of a change in its policy in this department of its work by the great defect existing in their system. Its applicants for the ministry during this period pursued a desultory course of study under some one of the pastors. They thus failed in being brought face to face with the standard authors

of the church. They had to rely upon the exposition and the testimony of their teacher as to what was and what was not Lutheran doctrine. In view of the unsettled condition of the church, and the vagaries held by some of the pastors, such men were not likely to become living exponents of the pure doctrines. In order to create an interest in this cause the synod organized an education society, whose object it was to bring the united action of the whole synod to bear upon this work of benevolence. Thus, after fifteen years, the synod had the courage to admit that its original position on these questions was untenable and impracticable.

Notwithstanding its position relative to educational and missionary work, its zeal for spreading the truth was not curbed, nor was there any limit to its missionary activity in spreading the gospel. Every pastor in the synod was a travelling evangelist. There were no definite pastoral charges within its bounds. It had no settled or permanent pastorate. The congregations annually petitioned the synod for the ministration of the Word, and that body would instruct certain of its pastors or deacons to visit the congregation during the ensuing year. Efforts were made repeatedly to have all the pastors of the synod visit at least once a year every congregation in connection with it. This arrangement compelled the pastors to be almost constantly on their journeys, making their labors exceedingly heavy. They were at times separated for weeks and months from their families. Besides these pastoral visits to the established congregation, they would seek out new settlements, preach to the settlers, and organize new congregations where, in their judgment, sufficient material was found to warrant it. For their services these pastors received such remuneration as the

congregation visited might bestow. This was always small enough. No stated salary was pledged. The whole synod was, what it later declared itself to be, a missionary society without officers or financial basis. Its chief work was missionating. Its pastors labored hard, trusting in the Lord for their support. It was a work of love, and an example of faith, that made them heroes.

Considering the condition of the country, the bad roads, the frequently swollen streams, the sparsely settled districts, the rude character of many of the inhabitants, the exposures to the inclemencies of the weather, their trials and hardships were not of a light character. Their journeys were made on horseback. A few books were placed in the saddle-bags, and the trip was often a long and fatiguing one. For lodging and food they relied upon the hospitality of those living along the way. Their sermons were composed while in the saddle. The long and dreary journey was often spent in reading or in meditating upon certain portions of holy writ while in the saddle. Across their paths darted the agile deer, and oft was their meditation broken by the fierce barkings of the wolf. In some settlements the preacher was hated more than the wild Indian, and these it was wise for him to avoid. At other places he was a welcome guest, and family vied with family to do him honor.

The services were held in the cabins of the settlers, in school houses, or under temporary sheds erected for that purpose. Preaching day in a settlement was usually a red-letter day. Sometimes sheds were erected by planting four or more "crotches" in the ground and laying poles from one to another, and then covering the whole with boughs, boards or straw. In these structures

the people joyously worshipped when the weather was not too severe. At other places the groves were the temples

> "When, in the darkling woods,
> Amid the cool and silence, they knelt down
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
> And supplication."

To these services great crowds of people came, from far and near, spending the day in social converse and in public worship. The pastor felt his labor well repaid when greeted with such an audience, ready to hear all things whatsoever was commanded him of God. Two services were usually conducted, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, after which the assembly would gradually disperse.

The Synod of Indiana came into contact and controversy with the "Generalists," as the adherents of the General Synod were called, at a very early stage of its existence. In 1836 Rev. Jacob Crigler, president of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West, suggested that an effort be made to unite the two bodies. A committee was appointed to confer with the Synod of Indiana, which reciprocated the feelings of the former body, and in 1837 appointed a committee on conference. After some correspondence, the Synod of Indiana held a called session in 1839 for the purpose of "making arrangements for effecting a union with the Synod of the West," and for this purpose respectfully invited and earnestly solicited all the members of the Synod of the West to meet with it at its convention in 1840. Rev. Abraham Miller addressed a letter to the corresponding committee of the Synod of the West, dated June 1840, stating the terms and conditions upon which a union might be effected. These terms and conditions were agreed upon at the called session. They

were: "1. That the Synod of the West rescind its resolution attaching it to the General Synod. 2. That we oppose the so-called benevolent societies of to-day, such as Tract, Temperance, Missionary, Bible and a host of such like fantastical societies."[49] It is needless to add that the Synod of the West rejected these terms, and no union between the two synods was effected. During the negotiations a strong opposition against the Generalists was exerted. In 1837 the congregations in Missouri "prayed the Synod of Indiana to be steadfast against the Generalists." The feelings against the General Synod grew more and more intense. There may have been some reason for this, but doubtless it was more from ignorance and unfounded prejudice than from any real facts. At least so the Synod of the West claimed. But be that as it may, a spirit of deeper and more pronounced opposition was aroused among the pastors and congregations against the General Synod pastors and churches. In 1841, possibly from fear that a union would yet result, possibly from knowledge of some of the innovations practiced by the General Synod pastors, petitions came from Philadelphia church, Parke county, to the synod, requesting it "to

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[49] This attitude toward such societies was common among all denominations in these regions at that time. It is possible that the pastors of the Synod of Indiana were influenced largely by Alexander Campbell's denunciations and arraignment of all such societies and those who foster them. See Amer. Church History, Vol. 2, pp. 490, 491. Minutes Synod of the West, 1840, pp. 13, 14. In the south, whence Rudisill, Henkel, Markert and Miller came, there was decided opposition to "missionary efforts" among other denominations, especially among Baptists. Vid. D. Parker in Hist. of Baptists in American Church Hist. Series. The Tennessee Lutherans, or Henkelites, were not alone in this view.

expose the attempts of the General Synod to destroy and subvert the true Lutheran doctrines;" one from Union church, Montgomery county, "thanking the synod for the knowledge they have obtained through those labors (of its pastors), of the impositions and innovations of the General Synod;" one from St. James' church, Montgomery county, "asking the synod to annex to its proceedings of this session an expose of Generalism, so that all who desire to be Lutherans may see their impositions and innovations, and come out from among them." A letter was received from the venerable John L. Markert, in which "he earnestly admonished synod to have no connection either with the General Synod, or with the Synod of the West."

In compliance with these earnest appeals from congregations and pastors, the synod resolved to publish an "expose of the conduct of the Generalists, and show their attempts at subverting and destroying the Lutheran doctrines and discipline." Revs. E. S. Henkel and E. Rudisill were appointed to prepare said "Expose" and have it printed as an appendix to the minutes of 1841. It appeared in the minutes of 1841. What the character of this "Expose" is we have no means of determining, as no copy of the minutes of that year have come to hand. Whether the charges against the General Synod pastors therein are just, or warranted, we cannot say. But it had its effect. Within two years Union church, Montgomery county, Indiana, West Union, Knox county, St. George's, Shelby county, St. Peter's, Carrol county, St. Paul's and Philadelphia churches, in Harrison county, and the congregation at Jeffersontown, Kentucky, applied for admission into the Synod of Indiana. They all appear to have been affiliated with the General Synod. Some of these

expressed their determination to remain steadfast in defense of the truth.[50]

During this time Rev. E. Rudisill also came into sharp controversy with the sect known as Disciples or Campbellites. Campbellism was making rapid progress in the southern and western regions of our country. One of its favorite dogmas then, as now, was the mode of baptism, namely, immersion. Prof. S. K. Hoshour, a prominent Lutheran in Virginia, was converted to the faith of Campbell about 1840, and became an ardent disciple. Hoshour came to Indiana, and took at once a prominent place and part in the propaganda of that sect. Another convert from the Lutheran ranks was Rev. W. R. McChesney, a member of the Synod of the West. This caused much rejoicing in their ranks, and every nerve was strained to make other proselytes. When Dr. Rudisill's essay on the mode of baptism appeared in the minutes of 1843 a certain defender of Campbellism, Elder James Mathes, undertook to confute the arguments advanced in the essay through the columns of "The Christian Review," a paper published by him in the interests of his sect, and widely read in the church of that name. When his strictures appeared, Dr. Rudisill asked the privilege from Elder Mathes to reply to each article through the same periodical, so that every reader could have the opportunity

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50 Whether the methods employed by the pastors of the Synod of Indiana were always fair and honorable is a question. They would enter wherever they had hopes of persuading a congregation to leave the General Synod body and attach itself to theirs. The only justification and extenuation that can be offered for this is, that they were so opposed to the methods of the G. S. pastors that they felt it their duty to wrest the churches from their hands and set them right.

of studying both sides of the question. This was promised him, and the controversy soon waxed warm and interesting. But after the appearance of a few replies by Rudisill space was no longer allowed to the doctor for his articles. Rudisill then published an exhaustive reply to Mathes' confutation in pamphlet form, in which he handled his antagonist without gloves. In the opening Dr. Rudisill states the agreement that had been made by Mathes, and then openly and fearlessly charges him and his chief supporter, Prof. S. K. Hoshour, with cowardice, and the fear of losing adherents to their cause if his replies were published. This reply to Elder Mathes did much to establish the Lutherans in their position on the subject. The effect of this controversy was that for a decade the Campbellite sect was more reserved and careful in its attacks upon Lutherans. It brought Rev. E. Rudisill to the front as one of the ablest controversialists in the state.

About this time he also got into a controversy with a Rev. Dr. Dickson, of the Associate Presbyterian church, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It culminated in a public debate, held in the Associate Presbyterian church in Parke county, Indiana. The discussion lasted for two days, and was attended by vast crowds of people. In the discussion Rudisill acquitted himself with credit. His opponent was a mild-mannered, scholarly and pious man, but not able in this case to maintain his position against Rudisill. At the close of the second day's discussion Rudisill proposed to continue it, but the Presbyterians were ready to let it rest. The effect was salutary so far as the Lutherans were concerned. It strengthened them very materially, and added fame to their champion. But it also puffed up Rudisill, and fos-

tered his vanity. With all his faults and erratic movements Rudisill was strong in his defense of the Lutheran doctrine over against the erroneous views of the sects. He knew the Lutheran position, and when assailed was ready to fly to its defense.

Important as was the work of this synod and abundant its opportunities for establishing the church in the state and spreading the gospel of peace, it was destined to be rent into factions by the demon of discord because of the unholy ambition of some of its most prominent men. The effect of this dissension upon the churches was disastrous. The bitter fruit thereof has not yet all disappeared. Some of its strongest congregations perished through this bitter and malignant controversy.

In its early history, doctrinally, the Synod of Indiana was soundly Lutheran on all the articles of faith. Its ministers were pledged to teach in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. But the doctrinal basis of the synod did not remain the doctrinal basis of its pastors. Lutheranism was not as clearly defined in these regions as it should have been. The pastors were zealous in defense of the name, but permitted the thing to be repudiated. The times were unsettled. In the Lutheran church dissensions, divisions and estrangements prevailed. Out of other communions sects arose under the leadership of ambitious men. In the Synod of Indiana were men that aspired to leadership who were inordinately ambitious, whose convictions of the truth were not deep-rooted, and whose actions were not wholly guided by divine grace. Religious movements swept like tidal waves across the country, breaking up the old order of things, and out of the confusion and chaos came new sects, whose leaders soon gained prominence and notoriety. Universal-

ism had swept across the state during the first third of the century, and many a congregation went down before its withering, blasting and poisoning curse. It was openly insinuated that some of the pastors of the Synod of Indiana winked at its progress, and privately admitted that at heart they accepted its tenets. A reaction, however, set in. Universalism was too blatant. The enlightened judgment was repelled by it. Absolute Universalism, therefore, gave way to the more acceptable doctrine of Destructionism. This was a new doctrine to the people of the Lutheran church in the state, and it bid fair of being widely accepted. It promised prominence and popularity to those who would champion the new heresy. But it had not sufficient merit to give it standing. It must needs be leagued with other doctrines that possess merit, respectability and historic association. An effort was therefore made by certain pastors of the Synod of Indiana to incorporate this tenet as an article in the synod's doctrinal basis. These pastors were Revs. E. Rudisill, M. D., Elias Markert, Samuel Good, and possibly also John H. Vajan.

As early as 1845, if not earlier, these men began to preach this heresy in the congregations and at the synodical conventions. They conspired to foist the doctrine upon the synod, and elaborate plans were laid and preparations made to carry out successfully their project. Rev. E. Rudisill was the leader, and he was faithfully and ardently supported by his lieutenants, Markert and Good. Whether Rudisill was persuaded by some one to adopt this view, or whether he merely pretended to believe it, and used it as a means to gratify his ambition and to place himself at the head of another ecclesiastical body, we cannot say. That he aspired to be the head of a new

ecclesiastical body is beyond question. That he knew this doctrine to be not only unlutheran but anti-lutheran, is also certain. He expressed his conviction repeatedly that it is a scriptural doctrine, and that it would be accepted by the church. He therefore made strenuous efforts to have the synod adopt it as an article of faith. He was well fitted for this task. Eloquent and persuasive in speech, and shrewd in debate, he hoped to bear down all opposition. His success in the Baptist controversy made him sanguine of victory in this movement. He feared no opposition from Henkel,[51] and he considered himself more than a match for any other pastor in the synod. His vanity led him to believe that he could vanquish anyone in the whole Lutheran church who might oppose him. Especially did he desire "to lock horns with the Generalists on this question," as he expressed it. His plan was to preach the doctrine in the congregations and win them to his support, and then by flattery, argument and threats win the pastors to his side. But he reckoned without his host.

Rev. Elias Markert was nothing more than a willing tool in the hands of Rudisill. He had not the elements nor the ability of a leader. But under Rudisill's manipulations he aided very materially in spreading the heresy.

Rev. S. Good was Rudisill's chief lieutenant, and heartily seconded his efforts. His confidence in Rudisill's judgment and learning had more to do in leading him into the movement than his own convictions, and when the cause failed so ingloriously the wily Rudisill made him the scapegoat for the sins of the conspirators.

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[51] Henkel was at this time in the mazes and toils of Universalism.

In 1844 a young German, John F. Lautenschlager, was commended to the synod by Rev. C. Moritz, then residing in Iowa. Mr. Lautenschlager was received by the synod as a worthy candidate, and placed under the care of Revs. E. S. Henkel and E. Rudisill. Under their directions he pursued his studies. He was a man of fair attainments, a close student of the confessions and of the Word, and of great courage and strong convictions. In 1846 he was licensed to preach and was assigned as assistant to Rev. S. Good. He soon discovered the heretical views of Good and could no longer conscientiously serve under him.[52] He then went to Rev. E. Rudisill for comfort, and to his astonishment, found him holding the same views as did Good. Thereupon he began publicly to expose and oppose the destructionist heresy, and thus became a thorn in the flesh of the conspirators. Under this opposition they became restive and entered aggressively and defiantly upon their course. Plans were laid to give the doctrine official and synodical sanction. To forestall the opposition that was arising, at the instigation of Rudisill, who was president, a resolution, drawn by him, was railroaded through the synod, clothing him with arbitrary and almost absolute power and authority over the candidates, licentiates, deacons, pastors and congregations of the synod.[53] As there existed an emergency

52 "When he, Good, and I conversed on religious subjects he would charge the Lutheran church with superstition, would deny the immortality of the souls of the wicked, the resurrection, a day of judgment, everlasting punishment, original sin and the Holy Ghost in toto. He declared the bible a heretical book, the work of man, and ordered church councils to burn Luther's catechisms." J. F. Lautenschlager, Minutes Miller faction, 1850.

53 This was at the convention in 1847.

it was made immediately effective, contrary to the rules and regulations of the synod. It was to remain in force one year, and if ratified by the congregations, should become, after the next convention, a part of the rules and regulations.

The resolution, as it was finally adopted in 1848, and which somewhat curtailed the powers vested in the president by the resolution of 1847, was as follows: "Resolved, that the duties of the president of this synod shall be, not only to preside over the deliberations of the synod at its sessions, but in the interim to call sessions of the synod when petitioned for by two ministers and two congregations; and also to call councils of preachers, when the same is demanded by a minister or congregation. All students and licentiates shall be guided by his advice, and call upon him for counsel. He may examine and grant license to preach, catechise and to baptize during the interim of the synod. And when any minister is about to enter into a public debate he should seek his counsel as to its necessity, and if possible have his presence. And when complaint or complaints are made to him in writing, against a minister, deacon or licentiate, by a minister or congregation, he shall call a council of two ministers and delegates from three congregations, and if the complaint is sustained, a majority of the council so voting, he shall suspend said minister, deacon or licentiate until the next meeting of the synod. He shall give in writing a full account of his official proceedings to the next session of the synod for its examination and approval; that this resolution be an amendment to Regulation No. 3 of the local and temporary regulations of the constitution of this synod." This resolution was carried through, all opposition being borne down by the impetu-

osity of its author. Several of the pastors who voted for it subsequently confessed that they did not understand its full import, else they would have opposed it. The subsequent course of Rudisill clearly showed that he introduced it for designing purposes.

The advocates of Destructionism, however, were not to go on unchallenged. Among both clergy and laity there were men who knew that this doctrine is not a part of Lutheranism, and who loved their church and her doctrines too dearly to let the matter go on without a protest. While not equal to Rudisill in learning, eloquence and forensic skill, the clergymen who opposed him had the consciousness of being in the right, and the courage of their convictions. They had the scriptures, the Lutheran confessions and theologians on their side, and felt thrice armed because on the side of right.

The first official notice we have of the heresy was at the convention of 1847. During the preceding winter and spring Rudisill was in the south endeavoring to secure funds for the purchase of a printing press, but in which effort he was not successful. His intentions evidently were to promulgate his views by that means. He wished to discuss the doctrine through the "Lutheran Standard," but Rev. E. Greenwald, the editor, could not consent to any such thing. At the convention in 1847 Rev. Abraham Miller addressed a letter to the synod in which he stated "that some of the ministering brethren are debating against the Augsburg Confession, and that if the synod wishes to be Destructionist he would not, but desires to hold to all the articles of the Augsburg Confession." In this protest Rev. A. Miller was heartily seconded by Licentiate John F. Lautenschlager. But the protest was treated with contempt. The synod resolved

to discountenance it, and no investigation was made. With much bluster and airs of injured innocence each suspected pastor present declared his readiness to answer every charge of heresy against him. The specific charge was evaded, and another year's time secured in which to strengthen their defenses, and to spread the error.

The controversy waxed warm, and affected almost every congregation in the synod. The introduction and passage of the resolution above given was Rudisill's *coup d' etat*, and he cherished the hope it would enable him to carry his point. He declared repeatedly that "Destructionism is the doctrine of the synod, that it had to be established as such within three years, and that all who would not come to it would have to go it." He ruled with a high hand. He wielded the resolution over the pastors, and they dreaded his displeasure and feared his wrath. Rudisill, Markert and Good were ready to debate the question publicly with anyone. Rev. Hugh Wells, a pastor of the General Synod, accepted a challenge from Good, and they had a public debate in Boone county on the 24th and 25th of September, 1847. In this debate Good denied the resurrection of the wicked and their everlasting punishment, the day of judgment and future punishment. In the course of the debate he repudiated the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism. Rudisill also openly preached the doctrine. Even pastors of other denominations openly opposed him, and charged him with departing from the Lutheran position. Protests from Lutheran pastors and Lutheran synods were sent in, but these were disregarded.[54]

The Destructionists became intoxicated with the

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[54] Rev. A. H. Meyers, Henry Fairchild, E. Goodwin. The Synod of Indianapolis and the Ohio Synod.

notoriety they gained, and construed it as evidence of ultimate success. They were sanguine as to the outcome.

Meanwhile, Rev. Mr. Lautenschlager was also active. He opposed the heresy with all his power, appealing to the scriptures, and showing from the confessions that it is not a part of the Lutheran doctrine, and that as Lutherans they should repudiate and denounce it. The unconstitutional procedures of the synod, and the arbitrary acts of its president, were exposed and denounced. Many of the congregations perceived that they had been hoodwinked by Rudisill, who, with all his faults, was almost idolized by the laity. In this work Lautenschlager was heartily supported by Revs. Abraham and David Miller. While neither learned nor eloquent, these men possessed a large degree of common sense, and were devout servants of the church. Their earnestness, humility and fidelity to the truth compensated for their lack of education.

But Rudisill could brook no opposition. He was determined to rid himself of these troublers of his cause. In 1847, there were three petitions from as many congregations,[55] praying for the ordination of J. F. Lautenschlager to the office of pastor. These petitions were disregarded by the synod, through Rudisill's influence, and he was ordained to the office of deacon, to which he was not called, but which ordination was, according to the regulations of the synod, a prerequisite to ordination as pastor. But this second ordination could also have been performed had it not been for the opposition of Rudisill,[56]

[55] St. George's, Shelby county, Slipher's, Clinton county, and Zion's, Tippecanoe county.

[56] "At the same session of the synod there were also three petitions asking for my ordination as pastor, but as I had previously exposed the heresy of Rudisill, Good and Markert, and

who took advantage of a technicality.[57] He stood a fair examination, and according to the rules of the synod was entitled to ordination to the pastoral office, but for some cause his ordination was opposed by Rev. E. Rudisill, who contended, and carried his point, for the postponement of the ordination to the next meeting of the synod.[58] After the adjournment of the synod Revs. J. F. Lauten-

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as the two former were officers of the synod, the prayers of the churches were not heard; but Rudisill, when three delegates and one minister arose and plead for my ordination, said: 'I can't, I won't, my conscience won't let me.'" —Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager.

"J. F. Lautenschlager would have been ordained pastor at the convention of 1847, as he was found qualified, and his ordination was prayed for by three congregations. But the reason he was not ordained was that Rudisill wanted to keep him out of the way of his pet schemes." —Rev. Henry Fairchild.

It is also evident that Rudisill's opposition was due to the fact that if Lautenschlager were ordained pastor he could not have the same authority over him as while licentiate or deacon, by virtue of the resolution of 1847. Lautenschlager, as pastor, would also have more authority, influence and prestige than as deacon or licentiate.

57 Lautenschlager's ordination was refused on a mere technicality. The constitution provided that candidates "must be called by one or more congregations," whereas Lautenschlager's call was made by the "Church Councils." The synod took the position that church councils as such had no constitutional right to so petition. —*Minutes of 1849, p. 9.* It will be observed that this was a plea brought in as an afterthought to justify its course. If the plea had weight, it would also have prevented his ordination as deacon, which the synod performed. "Rudisill affirmed, during the convention of 1847, that he altered and counterfeited the petition of St. George's church, after it was signed by the members of the church." —Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager in Expose of Rudisill, etc., minutes of Miller faction, 13th session, 1850.

58 Maumee (Rev. J. E. Wesner) in Lutheran, Sept. 3, 1896.

schlager and the Millers returned home in company, and on the evening of the second day's journey reached Abraham Miller's home in Johnson county. That night the Revs. A. and D. Miller re-examined Lautenschlager,[59] and ordained him to the pastoral office, under a constitutional provision that any two ministers might, during the interim of the synod, in case of necessity, examine an applicant for ordination, and if qualified, ordain him to the office of the ministry.

This action on the part of these three men, when it became known to Rudisill, roused him to fury, and furnished a pretext for him to exercise the authority and power vested in him by the resolution. He accordingly issued an order for a special session of the synod, to be held in Philadelphia church, Parke county, on the 18th and 19th days of February, 1848, in order to try Revs. Abraham Miller, David Miller and John F. Lautenschlager upon the charge of official misconduct.

This called session was, as might be expected, a stormy one. Rudisill ruled arbitrarily and haughtily. He declared that the Slipher church, which had petitioned for Lautenschlager's ordination, and which he was then serving, "should not have the preacher they wanted." He arrogated to himself the position of prosecutor, judge and jury. He threatened with dire vengeance all those who dared to oppose him in his plans, and thus awed into silence any who sympathized with the accused, or were disposed to come to their defense.

[59] It appears from the minutes of the Miller faction, twelfth session, 1849, that the church councils of Slipher's church and of Mt. Pleasant church, Hamilton county, petitioned individual pastors of the "Old School Lutheran Church" for the ordination of J. F. Lautenschlager, which ordination was performed by Revs. A. and D. Miller.

The accused plead to have the trial deferred until the next regular convention of the synod, claiming that the people of that community and congregation were prejudiced against them through Rudisill's influence. This was true, for it was with difficulty that the accused could secure entertainment during the convention. This petition was overruled. They protested against Rudisill being the prosecutor, judge and jury, but this protest was unheeded. They questioned the constitutionality of the meeting and of the proceedings, as neither a majority of the ministers were present nor were a majority of the congregations represented. This question was also ignored. There was nothing else for the accused to do but to make their defense and submit to the despotic procedure.[60]

In the case of Rev. David Miller, Rudisill first misrepresented his statements so as to lay him under the charge of falsehood. He then informed him privately that if he would adopt the tenet of Destructionism all charges against him would be withdrawn, but if not he would have to take the consequences. Under the stress of the times Miller consented to this, at least in part, but subsequently repudiated his confession, and reaffirmed his former views, and justified his course. In the case of Rev. Abraham Miller, Rudisill did not find so pliable a subject. Miller, a godly man, and who had assisted in Rudisill's ordination, boldly and fearlessly rebuked him for his course, for his heresy, for his ambition, and for the desolation he had wrought in the churches by his Destructionism, and in turn was abused, maligned and

60 "Rudisill was made a god, and could and did do whatever he pleased, regardless of the bible, concordia, constitution, or any rule of love or justice. Whatever he said was law and gospel." —Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager, Expose of Rudisill.

threatened with dire vengeance. He informed Rev. A. Miller that if he did not like his course in establishing the doctrine of Destructionism "he would pick his feathers too, and let him go." He openly charged Miller with falsehood, and when the latter produced a certificate of good character, signed by a number of honorable citizens of Johnson county, he declared they might as well have signed a libel. The defense made by the Millers for their ordination of Lautenschlager was treated with contempt by Rudisill and his minions who constituted the called convention.

But the brunt of the attack fell upon Lautenschlager. Five charges were preferred against him, one of which was for solemnizing marriage while a licentiate, and another for being clandestinely ordained. The other three we have been unable to ascertain, but there were no charges against his moral character. It was apparent that he was the man most feared by Rudisill, and the one who stood in the way of the success of Destructionism. Lautenschlager appealed to the constitution, which made it the duty of the pastors to expose false and erroneous doctrines, as a justification of his course of opposition to Rudisill, Markert and Good. He defended his ordination as constitutional, lawful and open. But all of no avail. The findings of this session were that all the charges were sustained, and the sentence was pronounced accordingly.[61]

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[61] There were several accounts of this called session and of the evidence then adduced, published, both by the defendants and by Rudisill, but we have been unable to secure any of them except Lautenschlager's Expose. The facts concerning the proceedings of this called session we obtained chiefly from persons who resided in the neighborhood of the church and were eyewitnesses of the proceedings.

The verdict and action of this called session were the confession and forgiveness of Rev. David Miller, the suspension of Rev. Abraham Miller, and the excommunication of Rev. John F. Lautenschlager. At the regular convention of the synod in 1848 the acts of the call session were confirmed and the following action taken:

"Resolved, That, whereas, David Miller at the call session of the synod, was arraigned on certain charges of official misconduct, made the proper acknowledgements then, and was forgiven; but has since wilfully denied a part of those acknowledgements, and has, and is acting in a contemptuous and unchristian manner towards this synod in absenting himself from its sessions, and associating with, fellowshipping and upholding suspended and excommunicated individuals, that this synod solemnly declare him unworthy of their confidence and fellowship, and dismiss him from their connection."

"Whereas, Abraham Miller was suspended at the call session for official misconduct, and for being guilty of wilful falsehood, until he should render full satisfaction to the synod,—which he promised to do at this session,—and, whereas, he has continued obstinate, and continued to exercise the office of the ministry, notwithstanding his suspension, and has failed to render to this synod any satisfaction or make any acknowledgements; and whereas, in such state of suspension he is trying to raise an ecclesiastical body, and will not meet these charges, it is *Resolved*, by this synod, that his suspension be and hereby is changed into excommunication, and that he is dismissed from this body as unworthy of its confidence or fellowship."

Lautenschlager and the Millers were not, however, silenced by this arbitrary procedure. They treated their

excommunication with scorn and contempt. They insisted that they had violated no law, but exercised only rights which belonged to them. In this the civil court sustained them, and also the judgment of other Lutheran bodies. They continued their course of exposing the Destructionists, fastening the responsibility and guilt of the disruption of the churches upon them. The tyranny of Rudisill became apparent to many congregations, and the current of sympathy turned against him. In some of the congregations two parties were formed, and litigation resulted with reference to the legal ownership of the property. In every case brought to court, the claims of the adherents to the "Miller faction," as it was called, were confirmed.

Meanwhile Rudisill prosecuted his plans assiduously. With the Millers and Lautenschlager out of the way, the road to success seemed clear. An attempt was therefore made to spring the new doctrine upon the synod at its convention in 1848. The advocates thereof, knowing that there were a few delegates present who would not adhere to it at all, made an effort to decoy them away by arranging for a service in the evening at a school house, but the plan failed. The delegates suspected a plot, and against all persuasion they remained and attended the regular service at the church. Rev. S. Good was put forward to preach the new doctrine, taking for his text John 3: 35-36. But he failed in his efforts, and broke down completely, so that Rudisill had to come to the rescue and finish the discourse. The next day John Downey,[62] of Knox county, Daniel Meyers, of Daviess

[62] Downey was one of the best informed Lutheran laymen in the state at that time.

county, and Frederick Slinkard, of Greene county, filed their protests against the sentiments uttered, withdrew from the convention and returned home. Thus were the opponents of Destructionists eliminated from that convention.

The lines of battle were more and more sharply drawn. The adherents of the pure doctrine took steps to reorganize the synod and eliminate from its official history these arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings. On the 10th of October, 1848, a public meeting was held in St. John's church, Johnson county, the one in which the synod was organized thirteen years before, for the purpose of entering a ministerial protest against the negligence of the synod in reference to false doctrines, arbitrary and unconstitutional rulings, and the neglect of catechisation. They elected a corresponding secretary, J. Sechrist, Esquire, who subsequently issued a call for a synodical meeting to be held in Klingensmith's church, Marion county, Indiana, May 28, 1849. On the 15th of October, 1848, the St. John's congregation, Johnson county, Indiana, entered a similar protest. On May 26, 1849, the Klingensmith's congregation took like action. This was followed by St. John's, Monroe county, March 2, 1849, Zion's, Tippecanoe county, February 14, 1849, St. George's, Shelby county, December 20, 1848, Schlifer's, Clinton county, November 11, 1848, Zion's, Morgan county, May 28, 1849. On May 28, 1849, Revs. J. F. Lautenschlager, Abraham and David Miller, and delegates from seven congregations, met in pursuance to the above-mentioned call, in Klingensmith's church, and reorganized the "true Synod of Indiana." By resolution they declared themselves to be the Synod of Indiana in its twelfth convention assembled, repudiating the conventions held in 1847,

in St. John's church, Floyd county, Indiana, and in St. John's church, Johnson county, Indiana, in 1848. They proceeded to the transaction of such business as came before them. The ordination of Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager by Revs. A. and D. Miller was confirmed. In 1850 this synod, generally designated as the "Miller faction," held its second, or thirteenth, convention in St. John's church, Johnson county, Indiana. They met with hearty endorsement for their bold action from Rev. C. Moritz, one of the founders of the Synod of Indiana, and Rev. Casper Bringle, a member of the old synod, who attached themselves to this body at this session. Both these men denounced the Rudisill party as unlutheran. In addition to these, a letter from the Rev. Henry Goodman, a member of the Tennessee Synod, was received, in which he rejoiced "that there were yet some who endeavored to stand firm in the truth." Rev. Henry Heinecke, president of the Ohio Synod, wrote them assuring them that their party was Lutheran, and that the Rudisill party was unlutheran. The Synod of Indianapolis took official action relative to the difficulty, and "Resolved, first, that this synod holds the destruction or annihilation of the wicked, and the denial of everlasting punishment, as taught by E. Rudisill and adherents, as a corrupting and ruinous heresy. Second, this synod does not hold Rudisill and adherents as orthodox teachers. Third, this synod does not hold the Synod of Indiana, the Rudisill party, as an orthodox synod, for taking them into protection, and justifying all their actions without cause or reason." It also declared that Revs. A. and D. Miller had a constitutional right to ordain J. F. Lautenschlager, and that his ordination was valid.

At its convention in 1850, this Miller faction made re-

newed overtures to the Destructionist party to have the differences between them honestly and fairly investigated before an impartial jury, and called upon Christians everywhere to force upon them the necessity of such investigation. It called upon Rudisill and his party to recant, deny or to justify their action. It also declared officially "that the Rudisill party did act unconstitutionally, unchristian and unjustly with our ministers, and that Rudisill and adherents are guilty of heresy. First, because they do not deny said anti-Lutheran doctrines; secondly, because they do not wish to have the difficulties between us impartially investigated. Therefore we call upon them publicly to recant, deny or justify their course; and further, that we cannot, therefore, fellowship with them until these difficulties are adjusted." In the minutes of this convention Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager, in an appendix, exposes the whole proceedings of the Rudisill party, fastens upon them the guilt of preaching heretical doctrines, and describes the arbitrary method of Rudisill in the call session of 1848.

The Rudisill party were not disposed to let the matter rest with their act of excommunication. They would also enforce it, so far as there was any authority. Dr. Rudisill, having failed in silencing his opponents by the act of excommunication, next resorted to legal measures. He employed an attorney and had Lautenschlager indicted for preaching without authority, and ordered the churches to sue for trespass, in case he used any Lutheran church edifice for the purpose of public worship. This brought the whole matter before the civil court for a decision.

The question was tried before the Shelby county court. It dealt with the validity of Lautenschlager's

ordination, and with the legality of Lautenschlager's and A. Miller's excommunication. On the former Rev. J. F. Isensee, president of the Synod of Indianapolis, was the chief witness. "After considerable testimony had been introduced both pro and con," said he to the writer, "Judge Wick asked me, 'Do you think that Lautenschlager was lawfully ordained according to Lutheran usage, and the provisions of the constitution of the Synod of Indiana?' I replied, 'yes.' 'So do I,' said the Judge, and decided the ordination valid." The question of his and the Miller's excommunication was also tried, and the decision rendered that it was null and void. After this decision, the suit for trespass was withdrawn by the Rudisill party.[63]

The question of property rights was tried in both the Shelby county and in the Clinton county courts and the title of the Miller faction was affirmed.[64]

The thirteenth convention of the Miller faction was the last one held. The costs of the suits and attorneys' fees had to be borne by them, and they were unable to support their claims with the requisite funds. In one or two cases the church property was sold to defray the court expenses, and the contest was abandoned. Lautenschlager says "our body died a natural death."[65]

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[63] "The indictment was tried and I was yet easier cleared by an impartial court than by Rudisill, Good, and Markert, because it took them to lie from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m., when the bull of excommunication was passed; whereas, Judge Wick would not hear me two hours before I was cleared."—Rev. J. F. L. in Expose.

[64] We have not had opportunity to consult the court records on this case, but have stated what persons cognizant of the facts have given to us.

[65] After their excommunication and the dissolution of the Miller faction synod, which the courts upheld as the lawful

Gradually a reaction set in. The Rudisill party would not recognize the decisions of the courts, except in the property cases. The Millers and Lautenschlager refused to resume their former position among the ministers who had so arbitrarily and unjustly excommunicated them. To them the lawful Synod of Indiana had no longer any existence. The Rudisill party, however, continued their body under the old name and title. But the exposures to which they had been subjected, and the defeats they had sustained, convinced them that they could not accomplish their designs. They felt it necessary to retreat out of their dilemma as best they could, yet in such a way as not to appear defeated. In 1851 Rev. Samuel Good, the most radical advocate of the Destruction heresy, died, and his repudiation of the heresy before his death, was a heavier blow to the party than his demise. This left Rev. E. Rudisill and Rev. E. Markert the sole champions. Rev. J. H. Vagan was no longer in synodical connection. We do not know what became of him. A decided sentiment against Destructionism steadily grew both among the pastors and in the congregations, so that its advocates deemed it the part of wisdom to remain silent upon the matter. In 1850, at the convention held in Zion's church in Morgan county, Indiana, the Philadelphia church, Park county, petitioned the synod

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Synod of Indiana, Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager united with the Joint Synod of Ohio. David Miller went to Iowa, where he ministered until his death. Rev. Abraham Miller continued to preach in St. John's church, Johnson county, until 1864. He was elected a justice of the peace, in which capacity he served very acceptably for quite a long time, and with credit. Benjamin Harrison, afterwards president of the United States, once argued a case before him. He died at a ripe old age, 82 years, 9 months and 21 days, highly respected by all who knew him.

to "notice the correspondence of Revs. Heinecke, of the Ohio Synod, Goodman of the Tennessee Synod, and Moritz and Bringle, formerly of this synod, with the 'Miller faction,' in which this synod was unjustly assailed, but that this synod pay no attention to the 'slang of the said Miller faction' in their last minutes." When this item was read before the synod it was "moved that inquiry be made of Revs. Rudisill, Good and Markert to know what they do teach in regard to the doctrines they are accused of." Rev. E. Goodwin was called to the chair and the three pastors above referred to were put under examination by the synod. From this examination "it appeared that all three of them believed in the resurrection, or bringing forth of the ungodly to judgment and punishment, and in the infliction of a punishment in Hell which is everlasting, but deny that said punishment is being endlessly inflicted. Finding, therefore, that these brethren are sound in faith as it respects the bringing forth of the ungodly to judgment, and their everlasting punishment, this synod do not feel that they have anything to do with their views or doctrines, or opinions, in regard to the endless duration of punishment, or the final destruction of the wicked (as held by some of them), until they shall make it a point of faith or a bar of fellowship, and hence are bound to consider them as Lutheran in faith, and hence consider the letters of the 'Miller faction' as unjust toward this synod."—Min. 1850, p. 7.

The minutes of 1851 are not at hand, and therefore we know not whether any action was taken at that convention. The agitation continued, however. The action of 1850 evidently did not please the loyal element. In 1852 the St. James and Hopewell churches heartily prayed "both ministers and members to lay aside the

little *bickerings* about *non*-essentials, and mutually unite in the great cause of the Redeemer." The synod took the following action relative to this item, it being in committee of the whole: "Whereas, a difference of opinion has existed between some of the ministers and members of this synod in regard to the mode and duration of future punishment, and

"*Whereas*, said difference of opinion has proved detrimental to the progress of the best interests of the church, and the advancement of our beloved Zion: Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, that the Synod of Indiana will henceforth recognize the Augsburg Confession of Faith, as extant in the book entitled 'Christian Concordia,' as a true declaration of scriptural doctrines upon which this synod was first organized, and upon which it yet continues firmly based; and all contrary doctrines are hereby renounced, and declared not to be the doctrines of this synod." This preamble and resolution was unanimously adopted.

This was a clear official declaration as to the synod's position. But it evidently did not affect the private views of the ministers, nor did it restore the confidence of others in the synod's sincerity. Whether the heretical doctrines were still advocated is not clear, but in 1855 President E. Markert, in his report to the synod, uses the following language: "Reports are in circulation abroad, to the discredit and injury of this synod, with reference to the doctrines of the final destiny of the wicked. An emphatic expression of the doctrines of the synod on this subject is evidently very necessary." At the same convention petitions from Newtown church, Boone county, and Hopewell church, Marion county, were laid before the synod, requesting an expression of the synod on the

doctrine in regard to the final destiny of the wicked, stating "that these were objections against the synod." The synod took the following action relative to these matters:

"*Whereas*, there are reports abroad, injurious and detrimental to the principles and doctrines of this synod, in reference to the final destiny of the wicked and ungodly, to which the president has directed our attention, and to which some of the petitions refer,

"*Resolved*, that our true principles and position as a synod are expressed in the symbolical books of our church, and more directly declared in the XVII article of the Augsburg Confession; that we do not recognize or own any other doctrine or principle as the doctrine or principle of our synod."

With this action this heresy of Destructionism, which had wrought so disastrously among the churches, and in the synod, sank to rest. No further allusion is made to it, but its bitter fruits were in evidence for many years thereafter.

Evils do not come singly. They did not to this synod during this period. The apostasy of Rudisill to Destructionism was attended by another, that of Rev. E. S. Henkel to Universalism. He did not, however, like Rudisill, attempt to draw after him a following, nor put himself forward as a leader. When he became convinced in his own mind of the reasonableness of that view, he followed a logical and consistent course. He reasoned that if all would be saved, what need is there of preaching? Why should a pastor preach repentance and faith, when heaven is the goal of all, even of those who obey not the command? He therefore relinquished the pastoral office, moved to Memphis, Tennessee, and engaged

in secular business.[66] With Henkel's withdrawal, Lautenschlager, David and Abraham Miller excommunicated, and Rudisill, Good and E. Markert in disrepute, there was little left of the ministry in the synod. Besides these losses, almost every congregation in the synod was divided as a result of the Rudisill apostasy, and a number of them never recovered from its effect. There are still a number of dilapidated churches in parts of Indiana abandoned and falling to decay, the silent witnesses to the havoc wrought by this unbridled spirit. In the God's acre hard by sleep the ones who once worshipped in them, but who have left none behind to perpetuate the faith so dear to them. The heart of the Lutheran sinks in grief as it reflects upon these sad events.

The few pastors who remained made an earnest effort to retrieve what was lost, and recover its reputation for orthodoxy. A few new men entered its ministerial ranks, men of piety, ability, character, and in whom the congregations had confidence. Among these were two that claim special mention, Rev. John P. Livengood and Rev. William H. Deck. The former was a christian gentleman of high order, of amiable qualities, fair attainments, and fine pulpit and pastoral qualities. He wielded an influence for good that was widely felt, and did much to heal the wounds inflicted by the apostates. The latter was

[66] Henkel's apostasy, however, bore its fruit. While he did not openly preach Universalism, he nevertheless was instrumental in circulating Universalist literature. As a result, the St. John's church, Floyd county, Indiana, fell into decay and ruin. Some of its most prominent members, men of influence in the community, and widely known in the synod, became converts to this faith. The only city congregation in the synod, the one in Salem, Washington county, was ruined irretrievably by this heresy through Henkel's instrumentality.

WICKER PARK LUTHERAN CHURCH
North Hoyne Ave. and LeMoyne St., Chicago, Ill.

BAPTISMAL FONT

Wicker Park Lutheran Church, Chicago, Ill.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

Chapel and Division St., Elgin, Ill.

without question the brightest, most scholarly and ablest man the synod ever had. His classical training was received at the Indiana State University, while his theological studies were pursued in private. He was a close and hard student, a clear thinker, versatile and witty, and of winning qualities. His influence was felt as soon as he entered the synod. He was the only man in that body able and ready to cope with the heresies of Rudisill and Henkel. Under his influence the synod gradually recovered its reputation for orthoxy, but his career was cut short by death, and there was none to take his place.

In 1853 the synod adopted a new constitution, which it was hoped would atone for its past mistakes and heal the wounds that still gaped ugly and sore. This document was more liberal in its provisions than the other, and provided for much practical work. Doctrinally it was a concession to the lax Lutheranism of the times, but after three years it was amended and made more pronounced in its adherence to the confessions. This document constituted the synod into an education and missionary society. It made it the duty of every pastor to preach at least one discourse a year upon the subject of missions and education, and made it the duty of each congregation to contribute annually to these causes. It empowered the synod to establish a classical and theological institute, if deemed advisable, and to have the same incorporated, if thought best. It laid great stress upon the thorough indoctrination of the young, and in the main was a good constitution. It was quite an advance over the old instrument.

In 1844 the synod resolved to publish a hymn-book for the use of its congregations. A committee was appointed, consisting of Revs. Rudisill, Henkel, E. Markert

and S. Good, to select 400 hymns, 200 of which were to be taken from the church hymn-book then in general use. Subscriptions were solicited, and sufficient funds were secured to warrant its publication. The work of compilation was left to Rev. E. Rudisill. The book appeared in 1846, printed by Lenord Green, at New Albany, Indiana. A misunderstanding arose between the synod's agent and the publisher, and the hymn-book matter dragged along from year to year, and was still unsettled when the synod disbanded in 1859. Only four hundred copies were bound, the remaining sheets were left on the printer's hands.

The book was of convenient size, bound in leather, containing 402 hymns, preface and index. A large number of the hymns are the old classics usually found in such collections, while many are of no particular merit. The typography of the book is very unsatisfactory. The book never proved very popular.

In 1841 the synod took some action looking toward the publication of its own religious periodical, but found insufficient support to warrant such a venture. Five years later the project was revived, but again failed for the same reason.

In the early history of the synod it expressed itself as emphatically opposed to temperance societies, and any expression of opinion relative to intemperance. In 1855 Rev. E. Rudisill, who had withdrawn from the synod the preceding year, expecting to return to the south, addressed a letter to the synod, in which he stated that he would gladly cast his lot again with the body of which he was so long a member, but until the synod placed itself aright in regard to the fanatical notions of the day, namely, Abolitionism, Maine-Lawism, and Catholic Per-

secution he could not do so. In reference to this the synod took the following action:

"*Whereas*, in the communication received from Brother Rudisill upon the subject of Abolitionism, Maine-Lawism and Persecution of Catholics, is brought before this synod; and

"*Whereas*, we consider these subjects foreign to the business of this synod, considering them as secular and political matters. It is therefore

"*Resolved*, that we cannot as a synod prescribe what a man shall teach or hold in political or secular matters, nor to bind the conscience of man upon these matters.

"*Resolved*, that we cannot let these matters come into our synod, nor to make them a condition of fellowship among us.

"*Resolved*, that each individual in our connection shall have the privilege to hold any political principle he may choose, or attach himself to any secret society, provided they do not militate against the principles of our church or the truth of God,—unless he may endeavor to introduce or impose them into the church.

"*Resolved*, that we disapprove of our ministers meddling with these matters in the church, or taking them into the pulpit. We wish everyone to hold and believe on these matters whatever he may be convinced to be right, and enjoy that privilege uninterruptedly."

At the twenty-third convention a committee on temperance was appointed, the matter having been brought to the synod's notice by the president. He stated in his report that "our standpoint on this subject is nowhere laid down. We know not whether we favor the temperance movement or whether we are opposed to it. It is the duty of ecclesiastical bodies to define their position

in reference to all reform measures. I recommend that some definite action be taken upon this subject."

The committee appointed to consider this question and recommend action, reported as follows:

"*Whereas*, we believe intemperance to be a great moral evil, hindering the progress of the church of Christ on earth, and believing that it is the means of destroying moral and social order among mankind, it behooves us as Christians to take a decided stand in regard to this matter. Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, that we consider the bible to contain the whole duty of man in relation to God and his fellowman. We pledge ourselves to be governed in our walk and conversation by its precepts, and hold it to be full and explicit in all matters pertaining to our conduct as Christians.

"*Resolved*, that we will not aid or support any system but such as is strictly in accordance with divine writ, and calculated to preserve peace and harmony in our beloved church.

"*Resolved*, that we will not recognize or fellowship any church member who is in the habit of becoming intoxicated, or who will hold out inducements to anyone to be intemperate.

"*Resolved*, that these resolutions express the sentiments of our synod in regard to this subject."

The adoption of the new constitution in 1853 did not work the change that was anticipated by its friends. It was evident that the pastors had lost confidence in each other, and the synod learned also that it had no standing before the church at large. The apostasies of the past could not be buried from memory by mere resolutions, nor the evil undone by protestations of fidelity to the Augustana. There must also be works meet for repent-

ance. Meanwhile, death and removals were making inroads upon the ranks of the pastors. In 1851 Rev. Samuel Good died, after bitterly repenting of his folly. The next year Rev. Enoch Goodwin and the venerable Rev. John L. Markert passed to their reward. In 1854 Rev. E. C. Kiester, who had charge of a congregation in Terre Haute, was dismissed at his own request. The same year Rev. E. Rudisill asked for a dismissal, expecting to remove to the south. With these removals there were but few active pastors left on the field. Revs. D. P. Groundt and Eli Myers removed to Texas. Revs. John and Christian Good were in Iowa and were only nominally in connection with the synod. The congregations also had dwindled down to a mere shadow of what the synod once possessed. The outlook was anything but encouraging. In 1855 some of the ministers advocated the dissolution of the synod, but the older pastors were loth to consider such a step. The name was dear to them, even if the history was not a pleasant memory in all respects. They admitted that its reputation was soiled, and its earlier heresies and vagaries were still cast into their teeth. They repudiated the errors, and protested against the charge, but they could not remove the stain, nor undo the mischief that had been wrought by their errors. Too many ruined congregations stood as monuments to the ambitious follies of its leading spirits. But notwithstanding all this, they would make an effort to retrieve their losses and prove their sincerity. In the spring of 1858 Rev. W. H. Deck died. While the convention of that year was overspread with gloom because of this loss, the future looked more promising, and the deliberations were characterized by earnestness, peace and hope. The spirit of this convention was irenical, and held out the olive

branch of peace to the offended Rudisill and his followers.[67] When the synod adjourned that year it was with the feeling that a brighter day was dawning. These feelings were chiefly the result of the efforts of Rev. John P. Livengood, who exerted his influence for better things. His loving, peaceful and sympathetic disposition won the confidence of all. Largely through his influence, and that of the lamented Rev. W. H. Deck, several young men offered themselves as candidates for the ministry, which did much to revive the languishing spirit of the synod.

But the fondest hopes were soon blasted. Rev. Mr. Livengood died in the summer of 1859. He was the secretary of the synod. When Rev. E. S. Henkel heard of his death he wept aloud. In his stress of sorrow he opened correspondence with the offended Rudisill and earnestly solicited him to renew his relations with the synod, and help save the Lutheran church in the state from total ruin. In this he had a measure of success, but it was inviting the synod's bitterest enemy to come into its midst and slay it.

When the synod met at Newtown church, November 2, 1859, Rev. E. S. Henkel, for some reason, was absent. Those present were Revs. Henry Fairchild, D. P. Groundt, Jacob Deck, John Good and Philip A. Peter, and students J. Mutz, Henry S. Slinkard and J. E. Wesner, besides a number of lay delegates representing the congregations. The students were entitled to a seat and voice in the convention. Rev. E. Rudisill was also present.

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[67] Rudisill did not remove to the south, as he had expected. The secretary of the synod failed to note in the minutes his request for a dismissal, and at this he took umbrage.

Organization was effected by the election of Rev. H. Fairchild president, and Rev. Philip A. Peter secretary. When ready for the transaction of business a motion was made to give Rev. Mr. Rudisill a seat and voice in the synod. This was the occasion for a bitter contest. A prolonged debate of much warmth followed. The leader of the opposition was Delegate Joseph Klingensmith, of the Salem congregation, New Augusta, Indiana. This congregation was wrecked by Rudisill, some years before, through his Destructionism heresy, and the fragments were gathered up and reunited by the long, patient and devoted labors of the lamented Livengood. After a bitter debate, the motion prevailed, and Delegate Klingensmith withdrew from the synod. The Salem congregation stood independent of synodical connection until 1871.

Rudisill accepted the invitation, thanked the synod for its courtesy, and came forward to deliver his address. He executed his plan with great skill and adroitness. He first read a letter, which he had received from the former president of the synod, Rev. E. S. Henkel, in which he regretted his inability to be present, urged Mr. Rudisill to enter the synod again and take hold of the work, and assured him of his approval of whatever he, Rudisill, would do. This was the opportunity for which the wily and vindictive Rudisill had waited for since 1854, and he was not slow in improving it to his own advantage. He marshalled all his powers of vituperation, raillery and oratory, and hurled them upon the synod. He recounted the trials he had endured, the sacrifices he had made for the cause it represented, and the slights and injuries he had received from it as his compensation; how he had demanded satisfaction at its hands, but received none; prayed for the journal to be amended so as to throw no

reflection upon him or his acts, but was refused. He asserted that the synod in claiming to have done him no injury, and therefore no reparation was necessary on its part, simply lied, and that he could not unite with it with that lie on its records. He expressed it as his deliberate judgment that the best way to cover up that lie would be to dissolve the synod, bury its record and organize a new body; and he made this the condition upon which he would again co-operate with those brethren in a synodical capacity. It was from his view-point a master stroke. He knew the weakness and defenselessness of the body under fire, and he pressed the fight to a successful termination. When he closed his long and impassioned address, he was the master of the situation.

No one present was able to cope with Rudisill. Fairchild, the president, had neither force nor skill in debate, and was disposed to vacillate. He made no venture to reply to the sweeping charges. The students dared not incur his displeasure in doing so. Henkel, the only man who could have replied to him with any degree of success, was absent, and his name was so used by Rudisill as to favor his own demands. The proposition carried, and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana came to its death by the act of Rev. Ephraim Rudisill.

The proceedings of this convention were not published, doubtless also the demand of Rudisill. The facts here recounted were obtained from those present and are well authenticated. It is probable that if he had had the power, Rudisill would have destroyed every copy of the proceedings of the several conventions of the synod in order to bury in oblivion all records of his vacillating and destructive policy. Thus after an existence of 24

years, the first Lutheran Synod organized west of Ohio, came to an end November 4, 1859.

It is impossible to form even an approximate estimate of the numerical strength of this synod, either in the number of congregations or the communicant members. It was rather lax in its reception of congregations, so that it is difficult to determine what congregations were regularly and formally received, and thus became an integral part of the body. In many cases if a congregation sent a delegate to the meeting of the synod the congregation was regarded as a member of the body. So also, if a congregation received a minister as its minister, it was considered as a part of the synod. Only when a congregation asked to be received into connection with the synod was there any formal action taken.

Besides this method of receiving congregations, there were no reports of their parochial labors made to the synod by the pastors. In fact this was almost an impossibility, in view of the peculiar pastoral arrangements that existed. No pastor had a distinct and specific field of labor. The whole synod was one parish, of which the ministers were joint pastors. This condition was practically maintained during the whole history of the synod. It is difficult therefore to form any estimate of the synod's real strength.

Repeated efforts were made to have the pastors send in their parochial reports, but the requests were unheeded. In 1843 a partial report was made, showing 183 infants and 17 adults baptized, 98 persons confirmed during the year, and 1,084 communicants. The next year 242 infant and 17 adult baptisms, 107 confirmations and 1,202 communicants were reported. It is probable at the time of its greatest strength the synod had about 2,500 communicants.

Having no institution of learning, either classical or theological, to which the candidates for the ministry might be sent, it made provision for their instruction privately. After securing such education as the public schools in the state afforded, and few of the candidates ever obtained more than a high school training, the candidate was placed under the charge of some pastor, who would direct his studies and supplement them with private lectures and instruction. Each year he was required to be present at the synod, submit to an examination, and if found qualified, advanced. The synod thus became also a preparatory school for the candidates of theology. The work done by these was necessarily very defective, yet by perseverance, faithful application and close attention, a number of these candidates became able and influential pastors. Among them were several who had marked natural ability, and had they had the training which the schools of the present offer, would doubtless have risen to eminence in the church. Among these we might name John P. Livengood, D. P. Groundt, and Samuel Good.

The following persons were at one time candidates under the synod's care, with the dates of their reception. Some of these completed the required course and entered upon the pastoral office; some became discouraged and abandoned the work, and some were removed by death, before their course was completed.

E. Rudisill and David Miller and Henry Fairchild were received as candidates in the early history of the synod.[68] Paul Stine in 1841, Enoch Goodwin in 1842, Jesse Kepley, Philip P. Fleshman, John P. Livengood and

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[68] Several numbers of the minutes are lacking and dates indeterminable.

Martin Warner in 1843, J. F. Lautenschlager in 1844, John Good in 1847, Eli Myers, W. H. Deck and D. P. Groundt in 1851, V. A. Myers and E. Peter in 1852, Nathan Booher in 1854, Jacob E. Deck in 1856, Philip A. Peter and Jacob Wesner in 1857, and Jacob Mutz, Henry S. Slinkard and J. E. Wesner in 1858.

Notwithstanding the fact that the fathers of this synod were brought up in a school which vigorously opposed the license system, it was introduced in the year 1843, if not earlier. The synod held to the theory of two grades in the ministry, deacons and pastors. But as the candidates advanced in their studies, and the calls for ministers were so numerous and urgent, the synod, in order to supply the needs, granted license to such applicants as it considered qualified to preach, but not deemed sufficiently advanced to be vested with all the rights and authority of a deacon or pastor. The president had power to issue ad-interim licenses, which were returnable at the next convention of the synod. It exercised careful oversight over the work of its licentiates, so that there was not that abuse of this system as prevailed in many of the cases that came before the Synod of the West and in a number of the German congregations in the state.

The following were licentiates: Henry Fairchild in 1843, John Good, John F. Lautenschlager and Enoch Goodwin October 12, 1846, John P. Livengood October 13, 1846, Eli Myers and D. P. Groundt, 1851, C. R. Otto Miller, 1855, J. B. Hine January 26, 1857, Jacob E. Deck August 28, 1857, Philip A. Peter June 6, 1858, Nathan Booher June 18, 1858.

This synod held that there are two grades in the ministry, deacons and pastors, and ordination to the diacon-

ate was a prerequisite to ordination to the pastorate.[69] A call from one or more congregations was necessary to a candidate's ordination to either the diaconate or pastorate.

The following persons were ordained to the diaconate by this synod: Ephraim Rudisill, date uncertain; Samuel Good, David Miller and Elias Markert, October 13, 1841; Jesse Kepley, October 2, 1844; Henry Fairchild, 1845; John F. Lautenschlager and Enoch Goodwin, 1847; Caspar Brengle, 1837-41(?); John P. Livengood and John Good, October 10, 1849; William H. Deck, 1851(?); Jacob E. Deck, October 4, 1857; Jacob Wesner and Nathan Booher, October 23, 1858. There evidently were several others, names and dates not at hand, owing to the incompleteness of the file of the minutes.

The following were ordained to the office of pastor: Abraham Miller, Conrad F. Picker and Ephraim R. Conrad, August 17, 1835; Ephraim Rudisill, 1839(?); Elias Markert, 1842; Samuel Good, October 11, 1843; Henry Fairchild, May 2, 1847; Enoch Goodwin, October 10, 1849; John F. Lautenschlager, 1848;[70] Wm. H. Deck,

[69] The rule that candidates for the ministry must first be ordained to the diaconate, and then to the pastorate, was derived from the Tennessee Synod. But it was not confined to these two bodies. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania also held to this view in theory and in practice. In 1805 the Lancaster Conference, through Dr. Muhlenberg, proposed thereafter to have three grades, catechists, deacons and pastors. This proposition was referred to the Ministerium, but overlooked. In 1812 it was again brought forward and allowed to rest. In 1816, at Frederick, Maryland, the synod resolved to introduce the order of deacons. In 1823 this act was repealed. The main object of this step seems to have been to admit to ordination those who had not enjoyed sufficient educational advantages.

[70] This was by Revs. A. and D. Miller, and never recognized as valid by the synod, although so held by the civil courts, and other Lutheran synods.

September 29, 1852; C. R. O. Miller, October 28, 1855; Christian Good, June, 1857; Davoult P. Groundt, October 4, 1857; Jacob E. Deck and Philip A. Peter, October 23, 1858. Revs. C. F. Picker and E. R. Conrad did not attend the sessions of the synod after the first, and possibly the fourth convention, and finally are dropped from the clerical roll. What became of them we do not know.

The following pastors and deacons were at some time connected with the synod:

Rev. John L. Markert, 1835—1852.†
Rev. Christian Moritz, 1835—1850.
Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, 1835—1859.
Rev. Ephraim R. Conrad, 1835—.
Rev. Conrad F. Picker, 1835—.
Rev. Abraham Miller, 1835—1849.
Rev. John H. Vajan, 1841 (?)—.
Rev. Ephraim Rudisill, 1839 (?)—1854.
Rev. Elias Markert, 1841—1859.
Rev. Samuel Good, 1841—1851.†
Rev. David Miller, 1841—1849.
Rev. Caspar Brengle, 1841 (?)—1850.
Rev. Henry Fairchild, 1843—1859.
Rev. Jesse Kepley, 1844—1845.†
Rev. J. F. Lautenschlager, 1847—1849.
Rev. Enoch Goodwin, 1847—1852.†
Rev. John P. Livengood, 1849—1859.†
Rev. John Good, 1849—1859.
Rev. Eli Myers, 1851—1859.
Rev. W. H. Deck, 1851—1858.†
Rev. E. Keester, 1852—1853.
Rev. C. R. Otto Miller, 1855—1859.
Rev. Jacob E. Deck, 1857—1859.
Rev. Nathan Booher, 1857—1859.
Rev. Christian Good, 1857—1859.
Rev. Philip A. Peter, 1857—1859.
Rev. Jacob Wesner, 1858—1859.

The following congregations were at some time in connection with the synod during its history. The dates

are the years in which mention is first made of them in the minutes:

1. Apple Creek church, Cape Girardeau county, Missouri, 1835.
2. Church at Whitner's Mill, Madison county, Missouri, 1835.
3. White Water church, Cape Girardeau county, Missouri, 1835.
4. Rhode's school house, Madison county, Missouri, 1837.
5. Myers' Settlement, Madison county, Missouri, 1837.
6. St. John's church, Johnson county, Indiana, 1835.
7. St. John's church, Monroe county, Indiana, 1835.
8. Union church, Daviess county, Indiana, 1835.
9. Phanuel church, Fountain county, Indiana, 1835.
10. Philadelphia church, Parke county, Indiana, 1835.
11. Salem church, Morgan county, Indiana, 1835.
12. Zion's church, Morgan county, Indiana, 1837.
13. St. John's church, Floyd county, Indiana, 1835.
14. Union church, Boone county, Indiana, 1835.
15. Beaver's church (?), Fall Creek, Madison county (?), Indiana, 1835.
16. St. James' church, Montgomery county, Indiana, 1837.
17. Union church, Montgomery county, Indiana, 1841.
18. Zion's church, Washington county, Indiana, 1837.
19. St. John's church, Union county, Indiana, 1837.
20. Newberne church, Bartholomew county, Indiana, 1841.
21. Klingensmith's church, Marion county, Indiana, 1841.
22. Salem church, Washington county, Indiana, 1841.
23. West Union church, Knox county, Indiana, 1843.
24. St. George's church, Shelby county, Indiana, 1843.
25. Mt. Solomon church, Harrison county, Indiana, 1843.
26. Philadelphia church, Harrison county, Indiana, 1844.
27. St. Paul's church, Harrison county, Indiana, 1844.
28. Philadelphia church, Floyd county, Indiana, 1846.
29. Zion's church, Shelby county, Indiana, 1849.
30. St. Peter's church, Carroll county, Indiana, 1843.
31. Slipher's church, Clinton county, Indiana, 1843.
32. St. Paul's church, Tippecanoe county, Indiana, 1843.
33. Zion's church, Tippecanoe county, Indiana, 1843.

34. Hopewell church, Marion county, Indiana, 1846.
35. Mt. Pleasant church, Hamilton county, Indiana, 1848.
36. A German church in Terre Haute, Indiana, 1852.
37. Mt. Eden church, Monroe county, Indiana, 1858.
38. Mt. Vernon church, Parke county, Indiana, 1850.
39. Tennessee church, Clinton county, Indiana, 1852.
40. St. Peter's church, Greene county, Indiana, 1852.
41. Newtown church, Boone county, Indiana, 1852.
42. St. Luke's church, Monroe county, Indiana, 1852.
43. St. Stephen's church, Clinton county, Indiana, 1852.
44. St. Mary's church, Knox county, Indiana, 1854.
45. Fairhaven church, Clinton county, Indiana, 1854.

Besides these congregations there were a number of preaching points, and several congregations in Iowa, served by the Revs. J. and C. Good and Christian Moritz. Rev. C. Brengle served congregations in Pike county, Ill., and Revs. Groundt and Myers in Texas. The congregation at Jeffersontown, Kentucky, also belonged to this synod for a while.

It can hardly be said that the Synod of Indiana accomplished the work to which it appeared to be called. There was a vast and fruitful field before it, to be occupied and cultivated. For half a score of years it prospered, and the prospects for future success were bright. It had men among its members who, in learning and ability, were equal to any minister laboring in the state, men who, for zeal, devotion and labor, were unsurpassed in those regions in their day. There were congregations in its connection that were strong and influential, whose membership was loyal and devout. These responded nobly to the calls made upon them by the church. As congregations, they took a deep interest in the work of the synod. Laymen who were endowed with zeal, intelligence and influence, represented these in the synodical conventions. A number of young men responded to the

call of the church to devote themselves to the ministry, and the sacrifice these made, and the obstacles they overcame, are almost incalculable at this day. The efforts made by individual pastors to prepare these young men for their work is highly commendable. In addition to all this, Lutherans were flocking to the state by hundreds, material ready to be gathered in and amalgamated with the organized congregations. But the synod, it appears, was unable to make any substantial progress in the work before it. After a quarter of a century of effort, struggles, sacrifices and disappointments, it had made but little farther progress. In doctrine its official position was clear, and in advance of most of the Lutheran Synods then existing. From this doctrinal position it never departed as a body, except for a very brief time. This is not true, however, of some of its individual members, as is clear from the foregoing sketch.

The following may be regarded as the chief causes why this body failed in establishing itself permanently, and which ultimately led to its dissolution:

1. *Its narrow and restricted policy relative to education and missionary work.* This policy was the result of a wrong conception of the nature and duty of the church in these departments of church work. This is evident from the remarks appended to the article in the constitution bearing on this subject. They believed that any efforts to aid in this kind of work would tend to beget a spirit of dependence in those assisted. Their conception of the nature of a theological education obtained at a seminary was a very erroneous one. The same is also true of their conception of an incorporated institution, regarding it as a step toward the union of church and state.

This position and policy of the synod had an injurious

effect upon its communicant membership. It tended to prejudice them against the great commission to disciple the nations. They inferred that it is wrong, if not positively sinful, to engage in missionary efforts. They felt no obligation to render any assistance to the weak and scattered people of the same faith. This synod denounced such organizations as Tract, Temperance, Missionary and Bible Societies as "fantastical and falsely so-called benevolent societies." Under such a policy it is clear that no systematic, aggressive work could be accomplished.

This narrow policy also tended to keep pastors who located within the bounds of the synod from identifying themselves with it. Many conservative Lutheran pastors located in the territory of this synod, but they cast their lot with other bodies. It also led to many misunderstandings, and gave rise to wrong impressions. The members of this synod were characterized as "laboring under the most unfounded prejudices," and this being published abroad, and the almost universal opposition to Henkelism, of which this synod was an ardent champion, did much to array other synods and ministers against them, and also resulted in alienating some of its own congregations. The Synod of Indiana was regarded as very bigotted and intolerant.

2. *Some of the leading men of this synod were controlled more by unholy ambition than by ardent devotion to the principals of which the synod was the representative.* Instead of the spirit of unity, and concerted effort for the advancement of the church, which they professed to love so dearly, a spirit of intense rivalry and rankling jealousy prevailed. The interests of the church were permitted to suffer, so that personal advancement might be secured.

Rev. Ephraim Rudisill and the Rev. Eusebius S.

Henkel, both men of marked ability, and fitted for leadership, were lifelong rivals. Notwithstanding their abilities, their great labors for the church, and their power and influence in the pulpit, their personal ambition and their aspirations to be chief among their brethren, militated greatly against their work, paralyzing all efforts to advance the interests of the church. Rudisill was ambitious, impetuous, eloquent and persistent in his purposes. Through all the opposition against him, and for the time defeated in his schemes, he never lost sight of his aims, and labored on patiently in the hope of gaining his purpose in the end. At times he bore down all opposition by his impetuosity and vehemence. With tears and threats he would awe his inferiors into submission. If a scheme of his was too strongly opposed he would startle the synod by either resigning his official position or ask a dismissal from the body. His audacity in this alarmed his opponents, and they feared to press matters farther. By these *coups d' etat* he gained his purposes in the end. These methods, and the traits of character they betrayed, disgusted self-respecting men, who quietly withdrew from any part in the transactions of the synod.

Henkel, perhaps, was equally ambitious, powerful in argument, but vacillating. He was visionary, warm and sympathetic, imprudent and indiscreet in his measures, but sincere. He aspired to influence and leadership. In his efforts he often departed from the landmarks, faith and practice of the church, but no more than did his rival and opponent. These men were the very opposites in temperament and character. They alternately influenced the doctrinal and practical status of the synod. Between these two leaders the other members of the synod were divided. Rudisill compelled his followers to

do his bidding from fear, Henkel won them by his warm and sympathetic nature.

3. *The lack of definite pastorates was another cause of failure.* There were, strictly speaking, no definite pastorates in the synod. All the congregations of the synod constituted one vast parish, of which the ministers were co-pastors. Congregations annually petitioned the synod for preaching, and arrangements were made by which they were statedly supplied.[71] Thus at almost every successive service (which were conducted no oftener than once every three or four weeks) a different pastor officiated. There could be no systematic, aggressive, solid work done under such a regime. There was preaching, but no pastoral oversight. The latent strength of the congregation could not be developed. Catechization was neglected, and the people grew indifferent and gradually neglected the church.

4. *The preaching of heretical and unlutheran doctrine* did more to destroy the synod than any other cause. Rev. Ephraim Rudisill determined to make Destructionism a tenet of the synod, and to originate a new sect. He aspired to be to the Lutheran body what Alexander Campbell was to the Baptist denomination, the founder of a Lutheran sect, a species of Lutheranism with Destructionism as its distinguishing mark. But while unable to rally the whole synod to this standard, as he predicted he could and would do, by force or fear, he nevertheless succeeded in gaining a large following among the congre-

71 The Ministerium of Pennsylvania during the first almost fifty years, 1748—1793, had a similar custom. The congregations continually sent their applications for pastors and supplies to the synod. Action upon these matters was usually taken in open synod.

gations. While we have no exact data, yet it appears that about a third of the synod's strength was at one time on his side. The opposition from the Millers and Lautenschlager, which Rudisill's course provoked, saved the Lutheran element in Indiana, represented by this synod, from being swung off into a new and heretical sect. While this led to the dissolution of the body, it saved the churches from total wreck. The Synod of Indiana never recovered from the effects of this heretical movement, and the responsibility must be laid to the charge of Revs. Ephraim Rudisill, Elias Markert and Samuel Good.

It may seem strange to the reader that this heretical movement was not rooted out before it gained such a foothold in the synod. Were there not some who knew its heretical character? Yes. But Destructionism was not the only heresy fostered by members of this synod. Rev. E. S. Henkel, who was perhaps the only one with the ability to combat successfully the arguments of the Destructionists, was at this period deeply in the mazes of Universalism. He had the good judgment not to preach it publicly, for he knew it to be inconsistent with Lutheranism, but he admitted that he held to Universalism privately. His views were rather Restorationism. On one occasion when asked if these views could be proved false he replied: "From the Bible they can, from reason they cannot." It is also claimed by some that the vagaries of Swedenborg found advocates and champions among the members of this synod. Such being the condition of things, it was hard to find one who had the courage to make complaint against another.

During the period when the Destructionism heresy was to the front there was a large influx of Lutherans

into the state, mostly Germans. A number of Lutheran pastors, some from Gossner's Institute, and some from Leipzig, were sent to labor among them. Among these were the Isensees, J. and J. F., directed to Indiana by Rev. W. A. Passavant, J. Kunz, J. J. Meissner, Oscar C. A. Hunger, Ph. D., and others. These at first were affiliated with the Synod of the West, but felt ill at ease in that radical body. They quietly withdrew and organized the Synod of Indianapolis, which grew quite rapidly. If the Synod of Indiana, which was a German-English body, had at that time been true to its doctrinal basis, and its great work had not been overshadowed by personal ambition, it is quite probable that it could and would have attracted to itself these pastors and their congregations. But it could not attract them while in the mazes of heresy and rankling with jealousies and discord. It could not command respect, and those men preferred to organize a distinct body than cast their lot with the Synod of Indiana. The ambitious leaders in the synod did not much desire these German pastors, lest their ambitious schemes might fail. The Synod of Indiana failed to see its opportunity for great growth and good, and when that passed by no other came.

5. *The abandonment of Lutheran customs.* In the early history of this synod the Lutheran custom of thoroughly catechising the youth prior to their confirmation was strictly adhered to, at least so far as the pastors had the time. But this custom became unpopular under the influence of the fanatical measures in vogue among other denominations, and fell into disuse. The youth grew up with no clear idea of the doctrines, policy or history of the church. They could not give a reason for the faith that was in them. Instead of this rational educational

method new measures and revivalistic efforts were resorted to. It was less laborious to the pastor and more popular with the people. There could be no grounding in the faith under this method, and the result was, a number of the congregations of this synod fell before the tidal wave of error. It seems strange that this synod, which had so vehemently and unremittingly opposed the "Generalists" "in their unlutheran practices and efforts to subvert the Lutheran faith" should become an advocate of some of those same practices even while crying out against the General Synod, and refusing fellowship with it.

The unstable policy of this synod arose chiefly from its isolated position. With representatives of the General Synod it would have nothing to do. While it held to the same doctrinal position as the Tennessee Synod, yet it had no connection with that body, not even exchanging delegates. In its later history it contemplated union with the Ohio Synod, but the consummation was never reached. In this isolated position, and priding itself upon its independence, it arrogated to itself a purer Lutheranism than that held by any other Lutheran body. The pastors were thrown largely upon their own resources, and their individual interpretations of the symbolical books were not always consistent nor in harmony with the utterances of the leading theologians of the church. It may be likened to a ship at sea without rudder or compass, and every member of the crew taking his turn to steer the vessel into a safe harbor. It may also be remarked that the times in which it existed, and the religious vagaries that then so largely abounded in this region, all conspired to turn the synod out of its true historical and doctrinal course.

CHAPTER VI

The Union Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church

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THE next day after the dissolution of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Indiana, being the 5th day of November, 1859, the several ministers who had constituted the clergy of that body, and the lay delegates representing the congregations met in Newtown church, Boone county, Indiana, and after reading a portion of God's Word, engaged in prayer for God's blessing upon their assembling, and aid in accomplishing the good work for which they were convened. After these devotional services, upon motion of Rev. E. Rudisill, the Rev. John Good, of Iowa, was called to act as chairman and the Rev. E. Rudisill was elected temporary secretary. After this the chairman read the following call for a meeting of Lutheran ministers and congregations in convention for the organization of a synod, which was ordered spread upon the minutes:

THE CALL.

"*Whereas*, there is not at this time in the state of Indiana a regular organization embracing all the ministers and congregations of the Evangelic Lutheran faith in the state, and

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72 The title was from 1859 to 1863 the Union Synod of the Evangelic Lutheran Church, thenceforward the Union Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

"*Whereas*, such an organization is on many accounts desirable, and if rightly managed and conducted in harmony with the principles of the Augsburg Confession of Faith and Luther's Small Catechism, cannot fail to be of lasting benefit to the Church of Christ, and will lay a good foundation for its future prosperity, I, as a minister of the Evangelic Lutheran Church, desiring its prosperity, do hereby make a call for all ministers of said church, who are not at this time in any ecclesiastic connection, and who are anxious for the well-being of our beloved Zion, with all Lutheran congregations that may wish for such an organization, to meet on the 5th day of November, 1859, in Newtown church, Boone county, Indiana, for the purpose of exchanging views and uniting together in such organization as may be deemed necessary for the present wants of the church in the state and adjoining states; and to agree upon such additional arrangements as shall be required to secure a convention of the ministry and congregations, at as early a day as possible, to form a constitution and such regulations as shall be considered just and equal for the government of the ministry and congregations in such organization. And that such convention shall, in the foundation of such constitution, adopt the Bible containing the Old and New Testaments as the only rule of faith and church discipline; the Apostle's Creed as the rule and bond of christian fellowship; the Augsburg Confession of Faith and Luther's Small Catechism as the declaration and expression of the views of such organization on all the Biblical doctrines upon which they treat."—*John Good.*[73]

[73] "This call purports to have been issued by Rev. John Good, but it was written by Rev. E. Rudisill, who prevailed upon Good to sign the same and read it as his own. This information I have from the lips of Rev. John Good."

After this call was read and some explanatory remarks pertaining to it were made by the chairman, the whole question was freely discussed, and those pastors and delegates present who approved the organization of a new synod were requested to hand their names to the secretary. The following pastors, students and delegates were present, and favored the proposed organization: Revs. John Good, Ephraim Rudisill, Jacob E. Deck, Philip A. Peter, Henry Fairchild, C. R. O. Miller and Nathan Booher; Students H. S. Slinkard and J. E. Wesner. The following congregations were represented by their respective lay delegates: Newtown church, Whitestown, Indiana, W. J. Laughner; St. Peter's church, Newberry, Indiana, H. S. Slinkard; Union church, Daviess county, Indiana, H. S. Slinkard; Mt. Zion church, Morgan county, Indiana, H. S. Slinkard; Fairhaven church, Clinton county, Indiana, Moses Jacoby; St. James' church, Clinton county, Indiana, Charles Koontz; Mt. Solomon church, Harrison county, J. S. Hammond; Union church, Boone county, Indiana, Philip Lucas; Phanuel church, Fountain county, Indiana, John Fine; Philadelphia church, Parke county, Indiana, Alex. Bowers; St. James' church, Montgomery county, Indiana, Reuben Foust; St. George church, Shelby county, Indiana, Daniel Snepp. There were also three other delegates present, namely, Jacob Mutz, A. Treon and Edward Kern, but what congregations they represented the proceedings do not indicate. These pastors and representatives, by resolution, formed themselves into a synodical capacity, elected the temporary officers as the permanent officers for the ensuing year, and adopted the name and title of "The Union Synod of the Evangelic Lutheran church."

In this capacity it adopted the following declaration of principles:

"*Resolved*, that this synod adopts the Bible as their only rule of faith, union and church discipline; the Apostle's Creed as a summary of doctrines necessary to be believed and acted upon as a principle of union; and the unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith, with Luther's Smaller Catechism as the expression and declaration of the views of this synod, of christian doctrine. And that this synod hereby binds itself to these principles, and lays them down as the principles by which, and in harmony with which, the convention shall form a constitution for the government of this synod.

"*Resolved*, that upon all matters relating to the temporal concerns of this synod, or the manner in which business shall be transacted in the synod, a majority of votes shall govern. Every minister, deacon, student and delegate shall be entitled to a single vote; and that this rule shall continue until the contemplated convention shall form a constitution, pointing out the various duties of officers and the manner of conducting the business of the synod."

It was also resolved to call a convention to form a constitution in the near future, and ordained that each congregation in connection with this synod elect and send a delegate to that convention; also that all Lutheran or union congregations which approve this basis, and desire to unite with this synod, send a delegate to the convention. Other Lutheran ministers were invited to attend. The time and place selected for this convention was February 2, 1860, in St. George's church, Shelby county, Indiana.

Pursuant to the resolution, the synod met at the above mentioned time and place. There were twelve pastors, two students and eleven delegates representing fifteen congregations, present to take part in the deliberations. President Good being absent, Rev. H. Fairchild was called to the chair. The synod resolved to go into a convention for the purpose of formulating a constitution, electing Rev. E. S. Henkel chairman, and Rev. E. Rudisill secretary. Rev. C. Schadow, president of the Southern District Synod of the Joint Synod of Ohio, and Rev. Borchers, of the same synod, were present and given a seat and voice in the convention.

The document used as the basis for the proposed constitution was the constitution adopted by the Synod of Indiana in 1853. To the consideration of this instrument the convention confined itself. The second article provoked a lively and warm debate. A motion was made to acknowledge the symbolical books of the Lutheran church as a correct interpretation of the Augsburg Confession. But this motion was lost. The doctrinal part of Article II is as follows: "This synod adopts the inspired writings of the Bible, contained in the Old and New Testaments, as their only rule of faith, union and church discipline; the Apostle's Creed as the summary of christian doctrines necessary to be believed and acted upon, as a christian union; and the unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith with Luther's Smaller Catechism, as they are generally set forth and defined in the symbolical books of the Lutheran church, as an expression and declaration of doctrine of this synod." It was contended by those who opposed the above-mentioned resolution that in this article the symbolical books were acknowledged, but it must be conceded that the doctrinal

basis is rather indefinitely stated.[74] The effort to make the doctrinal basis clear and unmistakable was due to the influence of the Joint Synod pastors who were present, but Rudisill's influence outweighed theirs. He was the controlling spirit of the convention.

Two days and a half were devoted in convention to the formation of the constitution, and when the instrument was completed the convention adjourned, and the synod resumed its sittings. The constitution was formally adopted by it, and permanent organization effected by the election of Rev. E. S. Henkel president, Rev. E. Rudisill secretary and Noah W. Grimes treasurer. This newly formed ecclesiastical body was now ready for the work which it felt called upon to do.

Although the older pastors of this synod were brought up under very erroneous ideas of missionary work they now seemed to have divested themselves of these and entered most zealously upon the work that lay before them. Measured by the customs, methods and conditions of that generation, they proved themselves true and efficient missionaries. They traveled miles and miles through the forests, and over almost impassable roads, crossing swollen streams in order to reach the appointed place where they might preach the everlasting Gospel. They were almost constantly in the saddle, as other transportation facilities were very limited. At the first convention it was resolved to organize both a Missionary and Education Society, and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for these societies. At its second conven-

[74] The secretary states that "it was finally agreed, as set forth in the second article that the symbolical books were acknowledged as generally setting forth the true meaning of the confession."—Minutes, p. 3.

tion it resolved, "that the Union Synod in its synodical capacity be a Missionary Society." The funds for the prosecution of its work were to be the personal free-will offerings of the members of the churches, who were earnestly requested to give cheerfully from three to five cents per month to this cause. The pastors were urged to lay this matter upon the conscience of the people. The following year this action was reaffirmed, and the synod acknowledged the great duty of carrying the Gospel to the scattered Lutherans in the state. It took steps to carry out this work in the most efficient manner. In 1862 appeals were made to the churches to make special subscriptions for the mission cause, in addition to their contributions for local work, and made the delegates the agents to attend to the above subscriptions. The president of the synod was authorized to employ a minister able to officiate in both English and German, to visit every congregation and also new fields, and hold services for a week in each, and also to catechise the youth during his visits. The interest in missions grew steadily. In 1864 a Missionary Society was organized, which was authorized to collect funds and to take such steps as may be calculated to secure a system of missionary labors wherever they were needed. The plan adopted by this society to raise the funds needed was by membership fees. It also provided for the organization of auxiliary societies in the congregations. The society held its meetings during the convention of the synod. In the same year a constitution was adopted and the title given as the Parent Missionary Society of the Union Synod. In 1866, Rev. John Stine was appointed as missionary, to be supported in part by the society. He was instructed to visit the destitute congregations of the synod, and minister to their spiritual

wants. In 1870, Rev. E. S. Henkel devoted one-half of his time to missionary labors, and was supported in part from the funds of this society. In 1871 assistance was voted to the Gosport charge in support of a pastor for that field. While the results of this society's efforts were not very great at any time, yet it did much to stimulate an interest in the cause of home missions, and to overcome the opposition thereto engendered under the early and anti-mission spirit of the Synod of Indiana.

From its inception, this synod felt the need of an educated ministry, and the advantages of an intelligent laity. The pastors of the synod were almost all men who never had the advantages of a thorough training, either literary or theological. This answered quite well in the pioneer days. But the times were changing. Schools sprang up, and the people became more and more informed. Intelligence, and men with classical training were entering the professions. With these the ministry must keep abreast. The preacher of the Gospel must be so equipped that he can meet the sceptic on his own grounds. The position of the Lutheran church was assailed by representatives of other denominations, and the need of men qualified to cope successfully with these was deeply felt. Young men were offering their services to the church, but the time had come when they must have a course of training and instruction under competent teachers. To meet these wants the synod in 1861 appointed a committee of three ministers and three laymen "to collect information and present some plan for the establishing of an institution of learning, in which students of the synod and the sons of the church may obtain a liberal education." The next year this committee reported that owing to certain circumstances they had not been able to

COLBURN ACADEMY
Mulberry, Ind.

THE CHICAGO LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Waveland Ave., Sheffield Ave. and Addison St., Chicago, Ill.

have a meeting of the committee, and had "arrived at no definite conclusion in relation to the location of, or the best means for raising funds for, its building. They have, however, from all they have learned, become the more deeply impressed with the importance of the undertaking, and are fully persuaded that, if the synod shall pursue the proper course, and use the proper means, that such an institution can be reared up and sustained among us; and, from the information gained the committee is fully impressed with the conviction that, under the present disturbed condition of the country, its success will depend very much upon not urging its claims too much at the present time, but await patiently for the proper time to arrive, and perfect a plan for its upbuilding." During the following year this committee made a strenuous effort to secure sufficient funds to begin the institution. The effort failed. In 1864 the committee reported that it had not been able to secure the maximum amount necessary. At the convention of 1864 this committee was discharged, and the whole matter was transferred to the Parent Education Society of the synod. This society was organized at the same time that the Missionary Society was organized, for the purpose of creating an interest in educational work, "to collect funds and procure means for educational purposes; to make arrangements by and with the consent of the synod to educate students of theology; to adopt and execute any plan for the erection of an institution of learning for the purpose of educating students that meets the sanction of the synod. The funds of this society were raised by collections, membership fees, and subscriptions. The president of the Parent Education Society was instructed to "visit all the congregations of the synod, to deliver lectures upon the education cause, and urge its

claims upon the churches." This met with a hearty response on the part of the congregations, most of which petitioned the synod, at the next convention, to make every effort in its power to establish the institution. The president reported that he had visited as many congregations as he could, and secured $215.82. In 1865, the synod adopted a constitution for the embryo college, adopted a definite plan for the erection of suitable buildings, and selected Whitestown, Boone county, Indiana, as the location. The report of the committee in 1866 bespeaks a decline in the interest in the institution. In 1868 an effort to secure a meeting of the board of trustees failed, and one of the trustees resigned. At this time the union of all Lutherans in the state became the uppermost question before the synod, and the committee recommended that the college question be deferred until after an effort had been made to unite all Lutherans in the state into one synod. In 1869 a proposition was made to the synod to transfer to it Alimo Academy, located at Alimo, Indiana. But the synod declined the offer on the grounds that the location was inconvenient and the buildings unsuitable. With this action the effort of the Union Synod to establish an institution of learning came to an end. Other matters took precedence and the educational question sank to rest in the final dissolution of the synod.

It is reasonably certain that the chief object that Rudisill had in mind when he demanded the dissolution of the Synod of Indiana, and the formation of a new synodical body as the conditions upon which he would again co-operate with his associates in the ministry, and endeavor to save that part of the Lutheran church in Indiana from total destruction or absorption by other ecclesiastical bodies, was the union of all Lutherans in the state in

one ecclesiastical body, of which he would be its head and guiding spirit. His failure in founding a new ecclesiastical body with the tenet of Destructionism as its shibboleth, did not allay his ambition, nor weaken his self-confidence. He was the same ambitious, aspiring man as before; he simply changed his plans. He would unite those Lutherans who would subscribe to the doctrinal basis of this synod into the Evangelic[75] Lutheran church. He was for this reason very jealous of the synod's reputation for orthodoxy. The watchword for a number of years was "Union." It was the "Union Synod," "Union College," and the congregations organized during this period were almost all, if not all, named Union Lutheran churches. Even some of the older ones were renamed with the qualifying terms "Union" and "Evangelic." Any strictures upon the synod's orthodoxy, or criticism of the practices that prevailed, aroused his wrath to the highest pitch.

Occasions for this arose repeatedly. The constitution gave the synod full liberty and right to enter into correspondence with the Joint Synod of Ohio, or with any other synods of "Old Lutherans" in the United States, and of electing delegates to such synods for the purpose of entering into ecclesiastical connection with them as shall best promote the interests of the Union Synod. Among its first acts was an effort to effect a union with some synod of Old Lutherans. At its February convention, 1860, it decided to send two delegates to the next convention of the Joint Synod of Ohio, with full power to unite the Union Synod with that body as a district synod,

[75] After the formation of the Union Synod he always used this term instead of Evangelical. When his influence began to wane the term was dropped and Evangelical substituted.

or to make any arrangements with that body as would secure a proper fraternal relation with it. Rev. E. Rudisill and Mr. Noah W. Grimes were the delegates. It also appointed delegates to the Southern District Synod of the Joint Synod and instructed them to present to that body the love of the Union Synod, and assurance of its prayers for their continued prosperity in the work of Christ. The Union Synod held its second convention about four weeks before the Joint Synod convened, and reiterated its former action in the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, that we appoint Rev. E. Rudisill as our representative to the Joint Synod of Ohio (which is to commence its session on the 25th of October, 1860, in Galion, Ohio), with full power to enter into correspondence with said synod, and present our request to unite with them as a District Synod, or make such arrangements for ecclesiastical relations as he may think proper and deem best for the interests of this synod."

Rev. Rudisill submitted the following report of his visit and its results as delegate:

"I met with the Joint Synod at Galion, Ohio, on the 25th of October last, and was very kindly received, and a seat and voice in their deliberations was promptly voted me. After an opportunity had been afforded me, when in a brief and succinct manner I had unfolded to the synod the objects of my mission, the synod appointed a committee of conference to meet with me, to more fully hear from me and to become acquainted with our doctrinal views and practical operations, and to make me acquainted with their standpoints, and internal and external relations. I had several meetings with the committee, in which I stated very frankly our views and church practices, being persuaded that they were squarely

based upon the truth, and had therefore no cause for concealment. The committee, I believe, just as frankly and brotherly advised me in relation to all the points of doctrine and church regulations, concerning which I desired information. And after we were mutually satisfied, the committee made the following report to their synod:

"'Your committee would respectfully report that a conference was held with the Rev. E. Rudisill, representative of the Union Synod, in which the desire of his synod was clearly explained; and in return your committee acquainted the representative with the standpoints of our synod, both in respect to its internal and external relations. To obtain this knowledge and thus to enter into friendly relations with our synod, which in the future may perhaps lead to a synodical union between the Union Synod and that of Ohio and adjacent states, was the object of the visit of the Rev. Rudisill. Your committee rejoices in the confidence which the Union Synod places in us, and is of the opinion that mutual friendly relations should be instituted, and believes that the still existing differences in relation to the symbols, but especially in relation to church practice, would disappear. To accomplish this your committee moves that a delegate be chosen by our synod to be present at the next meeting of the Union Synod.'" The report was adopted by the Joint Synod, and Rev. Prof. Worley was appointed the delegate of that synod to attend the next session of the Union Synod.

"From the very friendly report made by the committee," continues Rev. Rudisill, "its adoption by the Joint Synod, and their appointment of Prof. Worley as delegate to attend the sittings of our synod, you see that that large and honorable body of Lutheran brethren manifest a

desire to be on friendly terms, and take our small band of brethren by the hand. It is a source of sincere gratitude to God that I can inform you that there is very little of doctrinal differences between them and us. On all the fundamental doctrines of the church, I know of none; on some of the minor, or doctrines of secondary consideration, there are some differences, but none such as should prevent mutual friendly relations and co-operation. On church practice there is considerable difference, growing out of the difference of circumstances with which our congregations and the synod are surrounded."

The action of Rev. Rudisill was endorsed by the Union Synod, and Prof. D. Worley appeared at its convention in 1861 as the delegate from the Joint Synod of Ohio. Expressions of friendly relations were exchanged, and assurances of mutual good-will given. Delegates to the next convention of the Joint Synod were appointed. The Joint Synod opened the doors of its institutions to students from the Union Synod, and its leading periodical, the Lutheran Standard, found a home in many families of this body. The prospects for the union were favorable, but in 1862 the Union Synod, owing to the distracted condition of the country, deemed it inadvisable to send a delegate to the Joint Synod, but it gave assurance of the most friendly feelings toward it. With this action all official relations between the two bodies came to an end.

Its efforts to cultivate friendly relations with the Southern District Synod were also abortive. The delegates appointed in February, 1860, were unable to attend the convention of that synod, for which the Union Synod expressed its regrets, and further declared that only the most friendly feelings for that body were entertained, and cherished the hope that in the near future it would be

able to reciprocate the kindness of that body as shown in the presence of Revs. C. Schadow and Borchers at the convention in February of that year. To give tangible evidence of this feeling it appointed Rev. E. S. Henkel as its delegate to the next convention of that synod. But in the meantime circumstances arose which made fraternization between the two bodies impossible. At its Richmond convention, in 1860, the Southern District Synod took it upon itself to pass judgment upon the Union Synod's orthodoxy. It declared the Union Synod unlutheran in doctrine and in practice, especially as denying the importance of Baptism. The unlutheran practices consisted in holding protracted meetings, partaking somewhat of a revivalistic nature, and confirming applicants for membership without catechization. For these practices the Union Synod had assigned its reasons, but they were regarded as insufficient by the Southern District Synod. President Henkel, learning of this action, deemed it unwise to attend the next convention, 1861, of the Southern District Synod, but addressed them officially denying the charges. This official letter, dated April 24, 1861, was misdirected, and was returned to the writer, who re-mailed it, and it did not reach the president of the Southern District Synod until May 10, 1862. In the meantime, the Union Synod convened in Phanuel church, Fountain county, Indiana, October 16, 1861, when the action of the Southern District Synod in 1860, was laid before it, and to which it replied as follows: "We deny most positively, the truth of the accusations made in said report; and that until they shall correct as publicly as the misrepresentation has been made, we shall consider them opposed to us, and cannot fraternize with them." At its convention in St. John's church, Dearborn county, Indi-

ana, in June, 1862, the Southern District Synod replied at length to the official letter of President Henkel, reaffirming their former charges. The feeling between the two synods grew quite warm, owing to the charges and protests. In its convention, September, 1862, the Union Synod adopted the following report as its reply to those charges of the Southern District Synod made against it. This report was adopted unanimously, after a careful discussion of every single item:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

On the Standpoints in the Usages and Practices of our Synod.

1. The Church of Jesus Christ is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief cornerstone, Ephesians, chap. 2d, verses 19 to 22 inclusive. Therefore, there can be no reception into this Church, Lutheran or churchly, that has not a "thus saith the Lord."

2. Baptism is the only means of reception in the Church of Jesus Christ. Matt. chap. 28, verses 19-20; and Gal. chap. 3, verses 26 to 29 inclusive.

3. The adult is only a proper subject of baptism when he believes in Christ. Mark, chap. 16, verse 16; Acts, chap. 9, verse 37.

4. Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God. (According to the German translation: "Faith cometh by preaching, and preaching by the Word of God.") Romans, chap. 10, verse 17.

5. So far as catechising is the preaching of the Word of God, it is a means by which faith is developed.

6. Whenever we are satisfied that a person has faith in Christ, we are bound to receive such individual into the Church by baptism, (see Acts, chap. 9, verse 37,) and such assurance we can only have by the confession of such person.

7. Every person that is baptized in infancy and walks by faith is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ. Gal. chap. 3, verses 26 to 29 inclusive.

8. We therefore hold that the Church has the right, and that it is her duty, as well as it is proper and right, for her to

acknowledge such individual as a member of the Church by confirmation.

9. We do not admit that confirmation is a means by which a person becomes a member of the Church, but that it is an acknowledgement of membership by the congregation; for confirmation is an acknowledgement of Church membership in the church universal, and also of membership in the particular congregation where it is administered.

10. We therefore hold that there is no other process in the reception of members, Scriptural, Lutheran, or Churchly.

11. We hold that in the administration of the Sacraments of the Church, they are only properly administered when the words of Christ are used as He used them in the institution, and we further hold that no practice can be Lutheran or Churchly that does not conform to this standpoint. See Matt. chap. 28, verse 19, and I. Cor. chap. 11, verses 23 to 25 inclusive.

12. We hold that the symbols of our Church are to be explained and understood as explained and defined by the Word of God, and not the Word of God by the symbols. See Formula of Concord, Epitome, articles on the compendious Rule and Standard, according to which all doctrines are to be judged, etc., paragraph 1. Also in the Full Declaration of the same, in Part II., in the Preface; article treating on the compendious Form, Basis, Standard and Rule of Doctrine, paragraph 1.

13. We hold, therefore, that any Church to be Lutheran or Churchly should adhere to the above standpoints.

14. We hold the above principles to be essential; but on all matters that are not essential to salvation, we hold that no man's conscience should be fettered or his privileges restrained.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

E. S. Henkel, Chairman.

This controversy, however, did not cease. The Southern District Synod in 1863 again expressed itself on the questions in dispute. But the Union Synod, believing that any further controversy and dispute about the matter would do no good, or be productive of any beneficial results, declared that it still entertained its christian regard and love for that body, and earnestly asked of

them to extend to it that charity that beareth long, endureth all things and never ceaseth. Thus ended this unfortunate controversy.

The failure to consummate a union with the Joint Synod of Ohio, and fraternal relations with the Southern District Synod of the Joint Synod, did not dampen its ardor nor abate its zeal. Its leader still believed that this synod could attract other bodies unto itself, and thus become the instrument for uniting into one body the separated portions of the Lutheran church in these regions. It came into existence for this very end, and along this line it would exert its influence and direct its energies. The next effort was made in 1864. That year it expressed its conviction that a "speedy effort should be made to form a union with some truly Lutheran synod in the west." This time it decided that the English District of the Joint Synod was the proper body with whom to confer. Rev. E. S. Henkel was appointed as its representative and sent to the English District Synod "for the purpose of bringing about a union with that body." These were his instructions. He therefore opened correspondence with the president of the English District Synod with reference to the contemplated union. The latter body called a special convention for the purpose of considering the question.[76] Pastor Henkel attended this convention and was accorded a seat and vote. We have not been able to ascertain the exact propositions which were made by the Rev. Mr. Henkel, but it would appear from the action of the English District Synod, that there were two, namely that the Union Synod as a body unite with the English District Synod, or if that should be found to be impracticable, that

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[76] Held in Carrollton, Ohio, April 4, 1865.

the pastors and congregations unite with it. In the former case it would mean either the formation of a new body, or making the Union Synod a district of the English District Synod; in the latter it would mean the absorption of the pastors and congregations of the Union Synod, and the dissolution of that body. The following is the action of the English District Synod, relative to this proposition for union: "The consideration of the subject of union on the part of members of the synod represented by Pastor E. S. Henkel with our district, was resumed, and Pastor Henkel was requested to give a free and full statement of the matter to synod." The action of synod on this proposition was as follows:

"1. That, after a careful examination of official documents, and consultation with the delegate from the Union Synod, we would state that we are not fully clear as to, and therefore, not satisfied with the doctrinal standpoints and usages of said synod: and even if otherwise, that a union of said synod or any other, as such, with ours, is incompatible with our rights and relations as a district synod.

"2. That we shall always be glad to receive any regularly ordained ministers of the Evangelical Lutheran church, who are willing to subscribe to the requirements laid down in the second article of the constitution of our synod, 'That all members entitled to hold a seat in the synod shall adhere to the doctrines of the Word of God, as set forth in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Smaller Catechism, and in the sense and spirit of the other Symbolical Books,' and present an honorable dismissal from their former synod.

"3. That we shall also be pleased to receive any Evangelical Lutheran congregation, desirous of coming into

our connection or discipline for their government and regulation as is in accordance with the constitution of our synod; provided, that it has obtained an honorable dismissal from the synod with which it is connected, or has, at least, applied for it and has been refused upon insufficient grounds."

This action shows that the English District Synod could not receive the Union Synod as a body, for the following reasons: 1. That it was not satisfied with the doctrinal position, nor with the usages of that body. 2. That it was incompatible with its rights and relations as a district synod of the Joint Synod, to receive it or any other synodical body.

That the pastors of the Union Synod could be received, provided, that they subscribe to the doctrinal basis of the English District Synod, and present an honorable dismissal from their former synod.

That the congregations could be received, provided, they conform their constitution and discipline to the constitution of synod, and be regularly dismissed from their former synod, or had at least applied for a dismissal and were refused upon insufficient grounds.

This action of the English District Synod was perfectly fair, consistent and honorable. It could not do otherwise. It had no authority to unite with the Union Synod as a synod, and was frank enough to inform that body.

When this matter came before the Union Synod at its next convention, it aroused the fiery Rudisill to a high pitch. That the Lutheranism of the Union Synod should again be challenged, and that by a body which it had regarded as composed of genuine Old Lutherans, was rasping to his vanity and self-confidence. He induced synod to take the following action:

"We, your committee, would beg leave to report. We have had the action of the English District Synod of the Joint Synod of Ohio with regard to the connection or union with it, proposed by the Union Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church, at its last session, under careful consideration, and that we agree with the said English Synod; that a union with it is impossible, as long as they make, as they do in their second item or article, the doctrine of the Word of God explainable 'by the Augsburg Confession of Faith and Luther's Smaller Catechism in the sense and spirit of the other symbolical books'—as such a course makes these confessions the interpreters of, and, hence, superior to the scriptures, and reduces the Lutheran church to the pitiable condition of a sect.

"The covert invitation to our ministers and congregations to obtain honorable dismissions from our synod, with the promise of finding a home in the English District Synod, is surely very much out of place, and very unbecoming a religious body making any pretensions to the spirit of Christ,— and while we hope these items were the re-result of hasty and inconsiderate action, this synod cannot so degrade herself, or deny the claims of a common christianity, as to return such an invitation to the ministers and congregations of said English District Synod." With this ceased all efforts to unite with synods of "Old Lutherans," such as the Joint Synod and its several district synods were regarded.

It is evident from the action of the Union Synod that the position of the English District Synod was either not understood by the Union Synod, or designedly misconstrued and misrepresented for effect. To assume the former is to reflect upon the intelligence of its members, and to assume the latter is to impeach their honesty. To

have its Lutheranism challenged, and its practices criticised by these "Old Lutherans" was more than they anticipated, and naturally was very irritating to their feelings of self-respect. They had posed as sound Lutherans, and now for the third or fourth time to be charged with unlutheran doctrines and practices, was galling, especially to Rudisill, who here saw an opportunity to exhibit his combativeness, and to place the synod in the position of a persecuted body. This he did by misconstruing and misrepresenting the action of the English District Synod. He found that the union of Lutherans in those regions, and under existing conditions, was not the easy task that he had assumed it to be.

These charges made by the several synods against the standpoints and usages of the Union Synod, had their effect. It drove the pastors to a closer study of the confessions of the church, and to inquire after Lutheran usage. The younger pastors no longer took the dicta of Rudisill and Henkel as final, but provided themselves with such Lutheran literature as was available, and investigated for themselves. The scepter was gradually slipping out of Rudisill's hands, and he realized it. But before yielding to the inevitable, he would make another effort. This was his attempt to lead the synod into the General Synod.

But as mentioned above, a conservative spirit was developing. There prevailed great laxity in the admission of members into the congregations. Catechization had practically ceased, while candidates were received without any definite knowledge of the faith of the church. Neither did there exist any uniformity in the mode of admitting members. President Henkel called the synod's attention to this chaotic condition, but it was unheeded

at the time. But gradually a conservative spirit revived and prepared the way for more uniform and churchly practices, until at length the synod insisted upon more frequent and thorough catechization. It called upon the heads of families to catechize their children in those pure and saving truths of the Gospel. The pastors were urged to conduct catechetical services every Saturday afternoon prior to their Sunday ministration, and to catechize three days before communions. Where there was no pastoral oversight, the president of the synod, or someone authorized by him, would hold "protracted meetings" for at least a week. During this period the young were catechized on the afternoons, and at night doctrinal sermons were to be preached. Revivalistic efforts were to be discarded. There should be plain, earnest, practical preaching at these services. Public invitations to unite with the church were given from time to time, and those who applied for membership were examined as to their motives, and as to their knowledge of the way of salvation. If found worthy they were received by the rite of confirmation, or by baptism. The synod laid great stress upon the preaching of the Word as a means of awakening the sinner. During the synodical conventions, there was invariably preaching during the noon intermission, and at "early candle lighting." The meetings of the synod were made a feast of good things and "times of refreshing" to the people in whose midst the conventions were held. These services did much to establish the people in the faith, and were a means of sustaining the church during those times. People hungering and thirsting for the truth, came for miles to attend the synodical conventions. So large was the attendance at times that overflow meetings were held in a grove, or some suitable place near the church.

In its early history the synod made provision for the establishing of Sunday schools in the congregations, and urged their formation wherever practical. It recommended the study of the bible and a diligent use of the catechism in these schools.

The Campbellite sect had somewhat recovered from the effect of the Rudisill-Mathes discussion of baptism, and were again directing their polemics against the Lutherans in a number of places. While the Philadelphia church was being built in 1866 they annoyed the Lutherans very much by their arguments, and their opposition to the building of a Lutheran church in that community. The people bore with it patiently for awhile, and then reported to Rudisill. He promised that if they would secure a place he would come into their midst and preach upon the subject. A grove was secured and a stand erected, and the announcement made. At the appointed time a large crowd assembled, all anxious to hear the arguments. The Campbellites and Baptists were well represented. Rudisill was in fine condition. For two hours he held his audience spell-bound. He took up their arguments one by one and demolished them. He quoted scripture, giving reference for each passage, and completely vindicated the Lutheran position. The outcome was that the Lutherans were let alone in their work, and their opponents deemed it the part of wisdom to hold their peace.

While the doctrinal position of this synod was not as clearly expressed as might be desired, and considerable laxity prevailed in its practices, it was very guarded in its teachings concerning the Lord's Supper. In 1861 President Henkel called attention to the unlutheran teachings concerning the sacrament in the Liturgy[77] used by the

[77] We have been unable to learn what Liturgy was in general use.

ministers, and recommended that the pastors in the administration of the Lord's Supper use the exact language of Christ. This recommendation the synod adopted, as the position it held on this question. He also called attention to other matters in the Liturgy which were not strictly Lutheran, and advised that in all these things the pastors conform strictly to the Lutheran position. There was at least a desire on the part of these pastors, to be in harmony with the church's teachings. Their errors were more of the head than of the heart.[78]

The long cherished hope of this synod for which it had labored, promised at least to be realized, but not in the manner nor to the degree, that it had originally expected. God wrought out the results in His own way. The union of a portion of the Lutherans in the state, became at last an assured fact. After its unsuccessful efforts with the Ohio bodies, it directed its energies to the union of the Lutherans in Indiana. Besides the congregations and pastors in the state adhering to the Ohio bodies, there were two General Synod bodies, the Olive Branch Synod, and the Northern Indiana Synod. In 1865 the president of the Union Synod was instructed to open correspondence with the different Lutheran Synods in the state "with regard to the common interests of the church in the state, as also with respect to the different benevolent institutions of the day, and if upon consultation a meeting of the members of the different synods should by them be thought beneficial to the advancement of the church, that

[78] It is due to these brethren to say, that owing to their isolation, they did not come into contact with the representative men and authors of the Lutheran church, and therefore failed to apprehend as clearly as otherwise might have been the case, the distinctive doctrines of the church.

they make such appointment sometime during the coming year." At the next session of the synod, in the report of the president, he states that "he did not open such correspondence, for the reason that he did not know who their officials were, and had no means of learning, as neither of those synods favored him with a copy of their minutes; and from the fact that he was informed of the action of the Pennsylvania Synod with reference to a convention, he was satisfied that this would answer everything contemplated in the other." He also officially informed the synod of the rupture in the General Synod, and that a portion of its former members contemplated calling a convention of all Lutherans in the United States and Canada, for the purpose of organizing a general body upon the true Lutheran basis, and upon the old landmarks of the church, which, if carried into effect, he believed would be a great blessing to the church. He recommended that the Union Synod make such arrangements and provisions as will enable it to be represented in said proposed convention, with full instructions and authority to enter at once into the compact. This recommendation was favorably received by the synod, and it appointed one clerical and one lay delegate to attend the proposed convention. They were Rev. E. Rudisill and Isaac Skomp, with Rev. E. S. Henkel and N. W. Grimes as alternates. The delegates were not instructed as to their powers and duties. Neither of the delegates, however, were able to attend the convention.

In 1867 President J. E. Wesner called the attention of the synod to the convention held in Reading, Pa., in December, 1866, and laid before it the proceedings of that convention, recommending appropriate action. The St. Peter's church, Newberry, Indiana, also petitioned

the synod to co-operate with other Evangelical Lutheran synods (English) to unite the Lutheran ministers and congregations into one body. In answer to this petition the synod declared itself ever "ready to co-operate with any other orthodox Lutheran Synod in the state, with the view to unite the brethren in one common faith, which heretofore have been separated. The proceedings of the Reading convention were placed in the hands of a committee, who subsequently reported as follows, upon the points in which the synod was interested.

The committee consisted of Revs. E. Rudisill, R. D. Emerson and Henry Fairchild:

"In connection with the proceedings of said General Council, we find their proposed constitution, which presents, generally, a correct and proper exhibition of the relation to each other of the different parts of an ecclesiastical body and of their duties toward each other.

"Upon a careful examination of both the proceedings of said convention, the 'fundamental principles,' and the passed constitution, the committee would suggest to the synod a candid and careful examination of both, as the synod, for several years, has been seeking a connection with some other body, so that if this one be founded upon the unaltered Word of God, the only distinctive position of the true Lutheran church, that in that case, the synod take the necessary steps to become connected with the same." This report was considered at length, and a committee, consisting of Revs. E. Rudisill, J. E. Wesner and Henry Fairchild, was appointed "to report upon the principles and theses adopted by the General Council, and the relation of the Union Synod to the same." This committee discharged its duty and the synod adopted the following as an expression of its views and opinions concerning the General Council:

"*Resolved*, that this synod has watched with much anxiety the various steps taken in, and causes leading to, the formation of the General Council, and its present status before the Lutheran community in the United States, and whilst it rejoices in the stunning blow which fanaticism has by its formation received in the Lutheran church, the synod is nevertheless not quite certain that its promoters and friends have not, in their anxiety to be relieved of fanaticism and error, bordered on the other extreme of placing man's labors and opinions upon an equal footing with the unaltered Word of God, whose adoption as the only rule of faith and church discipline is, in the judgment of this synod, the only distinctive doctrine and position of the true Lutheran church, and therefore, until this synod is satisfied by the further developments of said General Council's acts, that they subordinate all confessions, writings or orders of men to the Word of God,—until then, this synod judges it best to remain by her own published declarations and standpoints, and hope and pray, that those brethren influenced by the Word of God, may under the influence of the Holy Ghost, yet reach that clear and holy ground upon which all Lutherans may with joyous hearts stand, the unaltered Word of God, standing in its own unapproachable position; and the confessions and writings of all the defenders of the church occupy their proper place, and thus occupy their proper relation to the Word of God." This report was adopted as the expression of the synod.

Meanwhile the movement to unite all Lutherans in the state continued to grow in strength. Union with the General Council, and the formation of a new synod, were the absorbing topics at its conventions. In 1868 President Henkel officially informed the synod that "some of

the Lutheran ministers in Indiana contemplate calling a convention of the members and churches for the purpose of organizing a synod for Indiana." He urged the synod to consider carefully this movement and to make provisions for its representation in that convention. A letter was also received from Rev. Miles J. Stirewalt, of the English District Synod of Ohio, recommending the calling of a convention of all the Lutheran ministers and congregations in Indiana, and assuring it of his willingness to give his aid in so great an enterprise. He named St. Mark's church, Whitestown, Boone county, Indiana, as the place for the convention. Rev. D. Smith, of the North Indiana Synod, was present at this convention of the synod, doubtless to urge the matter of union. At this convention the question of uniting with the General Council was not discussed, the other question having taken precedence. A committee was appointed, who subsequently presented a report which the synod adopted. The report is as follows:

"1. The union of all christians is desirable and sought after by all lovers of the Lord Jesus, and more especially should all those bearing the same denominational name seek to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.— 1 Cor. 1: 10. That their talent, grace and wealth may be united in building up the church, by the enlargement of her borders, the development of her doctrines, and the education of her sons and daughters, and bringing up of the rising generation in the knowledge of God, and to prepare them for usefulness in their day and generation.

"2. Such a union is especially desirable in the state of Indiana, for, unfortunately for the Church of the Reformation in this state, she is divided into some four or five

different organizations which very seldom labor for such christian unity, but are too often found opposing, distracting, breaking down, and disorganizing each other, and thus effectually preventing the prosperity of our Zion within this state. Brethren, these things ought not so to be.

"3. It is believed that the difference in opinion on faith and doctrine is more in words than in fact, from the defining of the same word differently; and that, if brought face to face, a free and full interchange of views upon faith and practice, the most of the difference in views would disappear, and that the Lutheran church in Indiana would be found to agree upon all the essential doctrines of the Bible in her confessions, and that such divisions would be no longer tolerated, but that we would be drawn together in the bonds of christian unity.

"4. Another reason which exercises great influence upon the committee in recommending that an earnest effort be made for bringing about such a union, that owing to such a division, Lutherans have been, and are still unable to unite their means, by which the necessary educational facilities may be afforded to our sons and daughters to be educated under the care and influence of our beloved church, and thus be preserved to the church; whereas, by the wants of such facilities many of our bright youth and promising maidens are educated under other influences, and lost to the church.

"5. In view of these and many other reasons which the committee might present, and which readily present themselves to every Christian heart, the committee agrees with the reports in the great necessity and utility of making an effort, a prayerful, united effort, in bringing about, within this state, a union of all the Evangelical Lutheran

elements into one synod, based upon the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, as exhibited and clearly set forth in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith.

"6. To take the initiative in so great and glorious a work the committee would suggest that the synod appoint a committee to present this report to the Western Conference of the English District Synod of the Joint Synod of Ohio, to meet shortly at Colburn, Indiana; to the presidents of the Olive Branch and Northern Indiana Synods, and to other Lutheran organizations or individual ministers not connected with any organization in the state, and earnestly beseech them to consider these things, and, if approved of, that they appoint a committee to confer with our committee; and they shall agree upon some time and place to hold a convention of the ministers of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Indiana, that a free and Christian interchange of opinions may be had; and, after a free and full consultation, if the prospects be favorable, said convention may proceed to call a convention of the Evangelical Lutheran church, both ministerial and congregational, to meet at such time and place as the convention may select."[79]

Revs. E. S. Henkel and J. E. Wesner were appointed the committee provided for in this report. The next year the meeting of the synod was postponed two months, and the place changed from Mt. Solomon's church, Harrison county, Indiana, to St. George's church, Shelby county, Indiana, in order to give the committee more time, and to afford opportunity for their conference with representa-

[79] This committee consisted of Rev. J. E. Wesner, Rev. N. Booher, Samuel Hampton, Daniel Slinkard.

tives from the other synods. When the synod convened there were present from other synods, Rev. D. Smith, of the Northern Indiana Synod, Rev. H. W. Roth and Rev. S. Wagenhals, of the Pittsburg Synod, Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, of the Evangelical Lutheran District Synod of Ohio, and Rev. A. Thompson, of the Olive Branch Synod. After the synod was duly opened and organized, and the necessary committees appointed, the synod went into a committee of the whole upon the state of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Indiana, and the best means for her advancement. On Thursday, November 18, the synod "went into a conference[80] with the brethren of other synods present, upon the demands, wants and necessities of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Indiana, in order to promote the best interests in the advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and the salvation of souls." C. W. Sappenfield, Esq., was chairman of this free conference. After a free and lengthy discussion of the leading questions concerning the synod and the church in the state, which discussion was marked by charity and moderation throughout, the following resolutions were adopted.[81] They were offered by Rev. D. Smith, and were subsequently adopted by the synod. Rev. J. L. Stirewalt had offered a substitute, which, however, was lost:

"*Resolved*, that the best interests of the Lutheran church in Indiana imperatively demand the union of all the Lutheran ministers and congregations.

"*Resolved*, that such union in order to be lasting and effective for good should be based upon the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of Christian faith and discipline.

[80] Minutes Union Synod, p. 6.

[81] Four votes cast in the negative.

Resolved, that such union should adopt the unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith as a correct exhibition of the principal doctrines of salvation, and Luther's Small Catechism as a correct declaration of Bible truths, and very necessary for giving instruction in the doctrines of the Christian religion.

"*Resolved*, that the reformers in the formation of said confession intended to present the pure teachings of God's Word; therefore, it is subordinate to God's Word and is only justly interpreted, when explained by the infallible teachings of Christ and his apostles."

When the synod resumed its sittings, these resolutions were adopted, and the following action taken:

"*Resolved*, that the Union Synod adopt the resolution and articles presented to the synod by the free conference as a whole, and offer said articles as the principles and landmarks upon which they are ready to unite with the Lutheran synods and conferences in the state of Indiana; and the guides by which they are willing to be governed in their intercourse with them, and work with them in the upbuilding of the great cause of Lutheranism in the state."

This convention of the Union Synod was the most important in its whole history, for it was at this time that the real crisis was reached, and the future policy of the synod inaugurated. Both the General Synod and the General Council were courting it, and the synod itself was desirous to enter some one of the general bodies of the church. The sentiment that had been developing both among the pastors and congregations during the preceding two years was decidedly in favor of the General Council, whose literature was diligently circulated by the Rev.

J. L. Stirewalt, the western missionary of the Council.[82] The only pastor that was favorable to the General Synod was the Rev. E. Rudisill, notwithstanding his bitterness against it in former years. He inducted General Synod pastors into several of the vacant parishes prior to this convention, and professed great interest in the movement toward the contemplated union. In his last report to the synod he suggested a new basis for such union, namely, "the unaltered Word of God contained in the Old and New Testament as the only infallible rule of christian faith, church discipline and Christian Union," and "the unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith as containing a catalogue of Bible facts, and a Bible exhibition of the principal doctrines of the Christian Religion."[83] Although honored with a re-election to the presidency, the brethren were becoming weary of his domineering spirit, and were resolved to follow their own judgment and sense of duty, and leave him to do as he might choose.

The crisis came on Saturday afternoon, November 20. The delegates from the Pittsburg Synod had returned home, leaving Rev. D. Smith and Rev. J. L. Stirewalt as the representatives of the two general bodies. During the noon intermission Rev. D. Smith circulated among the

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[82] "So much may be said that the General Council and her institutions and periodicals stand in greater favor with these brethren than those of any other general body. Though they may not see their way clear to cast their lot with us at this time, they are nevertheless inclined to cooperate with us in the circulation of our literature." Letter of Rev. J. L. S., August 16, 1869.

[83] Minutes of 1868: 4. In the discussion of the basis of union R. insisted on the adoption of this basis. One of the brethren opposing him said the statement is not tenable, as the Flood, one of the "Bible facts," was not mentioned in the Augsburg Confession.

delegates and those pastors whom he thought he could influence, and endeavored to pursuade them to vote for a resolution which would be offered, namely, that the synod should unite with one or the other general body.[84] This passed without trouble. He next introduced a resolution that it should decide at once with which body it would unite. This was the occasion for a prolonged debate. He made an earnest appeal for union with the General Synod and made a deep impression.

But Rev. Mr. Smith had not estimated correctly, the power of the western missionary in debate. He replied to the arguments of the former, that the Union Synod should unite with some general body, but that the question to which, should be referred to the congregations, that the constitutions of the two bodies, General Synod and General Council, should be placed before the congregations, and should be fairly examined by them; that the next delegates should be instructed by them how to vote; that the present delegates were not prepared to vote, and had no right to decide so important a matter. This was a fair and reasonable view, and the motion was lost. The matter was then referred to the congregations who were requested to hold an election on the 25th day of the following December, to decide with which general body they desire to unite. This threw the contest back to the congregations.

[84] "I learned that while at dinner, he, Rev. D. Smith, was busy at work with the delegates preparing them to vote against the substitute. He told them that we were symbolists of the worst type, on the way to Rome, and were stealing all the congregations we could take along; that Wagenhals had plundered Fort Wayne, and was guilty of shameful outrages of various kinds; that my trade was to supplant every man I could, who was not a symbolist, etc., etc." Letter of Rev. J. L. Stirewalt to Rev. H. W. Roth, November 22, 1869.

During this debate and others that were carried on at this convention, Rev. E. S. Henkel acted very erratically. He professed to be a General Council man, but his actions and arguments indicated the opposite. He subsequently explained his course in a letter to the western missionary. His purpose was to get Rudisill out of the way.[85]

When the synod reconvened Saturday evening, Rev. E. Rudisill resigned the presidency and asked for a dismissal from the synod. This was a repetition of his former tactics, and too well understood to be of any weight with the synod. The resignation was accepted, Rev. E. S. Henkel was elected president, and instructed to grant the desired letter of dismissal. Thus the most bitter and influential opponent of the General Council in the Union Synod, was eliminated by his own course of action.[86] But he continued his opposition. No language was strong enough to express his hatred for the Council.[87]

In 1870 the synod met in Newberry, Ind. The chief question before it was the union of the Lutheran element in the state with itself. The vote of the congregations on the 25th of December was almost unanimous in favor of the General Council. This prepared the way for the synod to adopt the Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity, and the Constitution of the General Council. It appointed a delegate to attend the next convention of the Council with full power to unite the synod with it. This step was however deferred and the delegate did not attend the General Council, because of a new problem that was

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85 Letter of J. L. S. December 28, 1869.

86 He never thereafter identified himself with any synod.

87 Rev. J. L. S. had proposed the republication and circulation of Rudisill's expose of the G. S. in order to silence him.

now laid before it, and of which the Union Synod pastors had been kept uninformed.

While these movements toward the General Council were in progress, another was inaugurated by the executive committee of Home Missions of the General Council, which will be traced in the next chapter. This was now for the first time officially brought before the Union Synod by the Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, who was present, as the delegate from the English District Synod of Ohio, and also as the General Council's representative. The other movement was so well in hand by this time, that they were confident of leading the Union Synod into the adoption of their plan for the union of all Lutherans in Indiana in sympathy with the General Council into one synod. The reason for this counter movement lay in the fact that there was a strong prejudice existing among the General Council element, against the Union Synod, and deservedly so, but its evil spirit in the person of Dr. Rudisill had now withdrawn, and there was therefore some hope that what remained of the exorcised body might be led by the good spirit of the Lord to a closer union with the Council in all things that pertain to the bonds of true unity.[88]

The Rev. J. L. Stirewalt met the Union Synod, August 10, 1870, and "was received with becoming courtesy. He found the synod willing to pursue whatever course that would promote to the greatest degree the interests of the church. They were ready to meet in a fraternal spirit those who belong to the Council and live in the state, with a view of unity with them in one synod."[89] But it

[88] Letter of Rev. J. L. S. to ex. com. of H. M. of General Council.

[89] Letter of Rev. J. L. S. to *Lutheran and Missionary*, August 24, 1870.

required much argument and diplomacy on his part to bring them to this position. He asked the synod to reconsider the election of a delegate, and his authority to unite the synod with the General Council, upon the following grounds: That the English District Synod had passed a resolution authorizing the Indiana Conference to extend an invitation to all pastors in the state in sympathy with the Council, to meet them in conference for the purpose of uniting in one synod the General Council pastors in the state; that this synod sent him to urge them not to apply until such a union could be effected; that then there would be a synod of ten or twelve pastors instead of only four, making application. He urged that it was the desire of the Council to have only one synod in the state, and knowing that the Union Synod did not embrace in it all the true Lutheran element in the state, it would be insisted upon that a more general organization must be effected so as to unite all in sympathy with the Council. Still farther he urged, that if the members of the Union Synod could not agree, and were willing to unite in fair terms with those men in the Council, living in the state, that they could not agree with them afterwards, and so would become an element of discord. And as they the General Council Synod had now as the larger body extended to them an invitation to meet the brethren in the state with a view of organizing a synod that would embrace them all, their rejection of this overture would be a barrier in the way of admission into the Council. Nor would this be the only trouble that might meet them; it was doubtful whether as the Union Synod then existed, it had sufficient membership to entitle it to representation, and lastly if they were willing to meet with the Council element and unite with it they should postpone the election of a delegate

until the meeting of the convention, so if a union could be brought about, that all could have a voice in the choice of the delegate to represent the synod at the meeting of the General Council.[90]

Besides the presence and efforts of Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, other influence was brought to bear upon the synod. Rev. Dr. G. F. Krotel, president of the General Council, wrote them expressing the hope that the General Council element in Indiana might become united; also one from Rev. H. W. Roth, secretary of the General Council, of the same nature. Another letter from Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, secretary of the Indiana Conference, was received, in which the president of the Union Synod was invited to attend the next convention of that body, to be held at East Germantown, Indiana, May 10, 1870, which invitation was accepted. All these had their weight with the members of the synod, and did much in preparing them for their subsequent action. All opposition to the project was now removed. The opposition of Rudisill reached its limit when he, with Rev. D. Smith, succeeded in prevailing upon the St. George congregation, Shelby county, to reverse its decision, and go into the General Synod. Thenceforward his influence waned, and in a few years death ended his career.[91]

The synod appointed representatives to meet the representatives of the Indiana conference, to consider the matter of organizing a new synod. This free conference was held in St. Mark's church, Whitestown, Indiana, June 20, 1871. After a frank and full review of the situation, and of the interests of the church in the state, it

[90] Report of Rev. J. L. S. to ex. com. of H. M. of the General Council.

[91] He died Feb. 24, 1874, aged 63 years and 7 days.

decided to issue a call for a convention to organize a new synod for Indiana.

At its thirteenth and last convention, the Union Synod decided that in the event a new synod is formed, in pursuance to the call issued by the Indiana Conference, it now be disbanded, and its pastors and congregations regarded as members of the synod.

The congregations of this synod were all virtually one large parish, of which the ministers were joint pastors. Gradually a desire grew to have separate parishes formed, each with its own pastor. There was much opposition to this movement, but it finally succeeded, and in 1870 the synod was divided into twelve parishes, namely, the Newberry charge, consisting of four congregations and two mission points; the Nashville charge, consisting of one congregation and two mission points; the Edinburg charge, two congregations and one mission point; the Whitestown charge, consisting of five congregations; the Mulberry charge, consisting of one congregation and three mission points; the Alimo charge, consisting of three congregations; the Gosport charge, consisting of two congregations and three mission points; the Corydon charge, consisting of one congregation and two mission points; the St. Paul's charge, consisting of one congregation and two mission points; the Woodberry, Ill., charge, consisting of two congregations and one mission point; the Marshall, Ill., charge, consisting of one congregation and mission points around Marshall; and a mission charge embracing Crawfordsville and Armantrout's schoolhouse. According to this there were some twenty-two congregations connected with the synod at the time of its dissolution.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

Lindsey St. and Sherman Ave., South Bend, Ind.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

Lindsey St. and Sherman Ave., South Bend, Ind.

FIRST ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH
Mishawaka, Ind.

The following pastors were at some time in connection with this synod:

Rev. John Good, 1859—1871.
Rev. Ephraim Rudisill, 1859—1869.
Rev. Jacob Elias Deck, 1859. † February 16, 1864, aged 30 years, 9 months, 24 days.
Rev. Philip A. Peter, 1859—1866.
Rev. Henry Fairchild, 1859—1870.
Rev. C. R. O. Miller, 1859—1860.
Rev. Nathan Booher, 1859—1871.
Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, 1860—1871.
Rev. Davoult Philo Groundt, 1860. † June 11, 1863, aged 31 years, 7 months, 11 days.
Rev. Elias Markert, 1860—1868.
Rev. Jacob Wesner, 1860—1871.
Rev. J. Efrid Wesner, 1862—1871.
Rev. Eli Myers, 1864—1871.
Rev. R. D. Emerson, 1867—1869.

The following were ordained to the ministry:

Rev. Jacob Wesner, October 21, 1861.
Rev. Nathan Booher, October 21, 1861.
Rev. J. Efrid Wesner, October 25, 1863.

The following were licentiates:

Rev. J. Efrid Wesner, June 7, 1862.
Rev. John Stine, August 31, 1863. License recalled for cause, February 1, 1867.
Rev. M. M. Groves, 1868. Expired October 28, 1868.
Rev. R. E. McDaniel, 1870. Expired August 10, 1870.

Rev. M. M. Groves came from the seminary at Philadelphia. He applied for ordination, but having no call, the synod declined to ordain him. He thereupon took his departure from the synod. He served the St. James church, Vandalia, Ill., for a very short time, and upon request of the congregation vacated the field, leaving his books and other effects behind. He was never heard from, and what became of him none of the people at Vandalia ever knew.

Rev. John Stine was quite active in the ministry for a short time, serving chiefly as a missionary of the synod. His license was recalled for cause, and he disappears from synodical notice.

Rev. E. Markert abandoned the active work, and his name was dropped from the roll.

Henry S. Slinkard and J. Efrid Wesner were students of theology under the care of the synod. The latter was finally ordained to the pastoral office. The former, on account of ill health and physical weakness, abandoned the purpose and entered into business. He acquired considerable property, and was always a devoted friend of the church. He did not live many years. After the death of his wife, Mrs. M. E. Slinkard, his property passed to the Theological Seminary at Chicago. Though dead, he yet preaches through others whom he in this way assists to prepare for the office which he was providentially deterred from entering.

Two deaths occurred in the ministerial ranks: Rev. Davoult Philo Groundt, June 11, 1863, and Rev. Jacob Elias Deck, February 16, 1864.

Two young men were received as students of theology: R. E. McDaniel and John P. Deck. The former received aid to pursue his studies at the seminary in Philadelphia, and the latter was placed under the care of Rev. Nathan Booher.

The following congregations were in connection with the synod during a portion or all of its history:

Newtown, afterwards St. Mark's, Boone county, Indiana.
Union church, Boone county, Indiana.
St. Luke's church, Boone county, Indiana.
St. John's church, Boone county, Indiana.
Mt. Zion church, Daviess county, Indiana.
Union church, Daviess county, Indiana.

Fairhaven church, Clinton county, Indiana.
St. James' church, Rossville, Clinton county, Indiana.
Phanuel church, Fountain county, Indiana.
Emmanuel church, Fountain county, Indiana.
Fulton (?) church, Fulton county, Indiana.
St. Peter's church, Greene county, Indiana.
Mt. Solomon's church, Harrison county, Indiana.
Mt. Zion church, Knox county, Indiana.
St. John's church, Monroe county, Indiana.
St. Paul's church, Monroe county, Indiana.
Waupakon church, Miami county, Indiana.
St. James' church, Montgomery county, Indiana.
Mt. Zion church, Morgan county, Indiana.
West Salem church, Morgan county, Indiana.
Philadelphia church, Parke county, Indiana.
St. John's church, Rush county, Indiana.
St. George's church, Shelby county, Indiana.
Smithland church, Shelby county, Indiana.
Union church, Jasper county, Illinois.
Liberty church, Clarke county, Illinois.
St. Luke's church, Richland county, Illinois.

Besides these organized congregations there were quite a large number of preaching points where considerable Lutheran material was found.

The numerical strength of the Union Synod is not ascertainable. There were no parochial reports sent in by the pastors. The strength of the several congregations cannot be determined. At a conservative estimate the synod numbered at the time of its dissolution probably 1200 or 1500 communicant members. The congregations were all in the country and generally in localities which were settled chiefly by Lutherans. From the lack of pastors to minister to the spiritual needs of the churches, and the haphazard method of supplying them with the means of grace, many of the congregations gradually fell into decay.

CHAPTER VII

The Indiana-Chicago Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church

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The Indiana-Chicago Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

THE occasion and immediate cause for the organization of the Indiana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church, now the Chicago Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church, was the formation of the General Council. The more remote causes are to be found in the movements which led to and grew out of the rupture of the North Carolina Synod in 1820. As early as 1823 the conservative type of Lutheranism, represented by the Tennessee Synod, was planted in Indiana by the missionaries of that body. Other factors also contributed their part in bringing about this result. These were chiefly the efforts of the General Synod pastors to plant in the state the lax type of Lutheranism then represented by that body. The representatives of these two types of Lutheranism frequently came into sharp conflict, and each party made strenuous efforts to push its work to the front. Each type took organic form in a synodical organization in 1835, the conservative in the Synod of Indiana and the lax in the Synod of the West.

The conservative body received a severe blow in the Destructionism movement under the leadership of Rev. Ephraim Rudisill, and in the apostasy of Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel to Universalism. But it in a measure recovered

from these effects, partly through Rudisill's change of front, and Henkel's repentance and confession of error, but chiefly through the influence of two godly and earnest men who entered the synod at this period of its history, the Rev. John P. Livengood and the scholarly Rev. William H. Deck. The radical body also received a crushing blow in the doctrinal reaction which arose in the Synod of the West under the leadership of the Rev. Conrad F. D. Wynnekin, who led the conservative wing of that synod into the Missouri Synod, from the effects of which the Synod of the West never recovered. But the General Synod type soon after took organic form in the state in the organization of the Olive Branch Synod.

As stated in Chapter V the Synod of Indiana dissolved November 4, 1859. The causes for this are narrated in that chapter. This dissolution was followed by the organization of the Union Synod, which was to all practical purposes but a continuation of the Synod of Indiana under a new name. It was composed of the same pastors and congregations, and had substantially the same constitution. The change was made in order to conciliate the offended Rudisill.

The chief objects that Rudisill had in demanding the organization of the Union Synod were to unite all the Lutheran elements in Indiana with this body, and to retrieve his reputation as a leader, a controversialist and as a preacher. Of his ultimate success in this he had no doubt, until his defeat in 1869. But his plans miscarried. Disappointed in uniting all the Lutheran element in the state with this body, the synod through his leadership, next endeavored to draw into it the conservative Lutheran element in the state, and these efforts were partially successful, and may be regarded as the first steps that event-

ually culminated in the formation of the Indiana Synod. Finally the synod consented to the union of all Lutherans in Indiana in sympathy with the General Council in a new synod, and when the time came, dissolved that that object might be effected.

Besides the movements in the Union Synod, there were two others more or less independent of each other, which coalescing with those in the synod, resulted in the organization of the Indiana Synod.

The first of these originated among the ministers of the English Evangelical Lutheran District of the Joint Synod of Ohio, resident in Indiana. In 1866 this synod organized all its pastors living west of the Springfield, Ohio, meridian, into the Western Conference.[92] This Western Conference soon agitated the formation of a new synod, based upon the principles of the General Council. This was to be an Indiana Synod. As early as 1868 the propriety of organizing such a synod was discussed by the conference, and it contemplated calling a convention for that purpose. This conference proposed the absorption of the Union Synod in this new body, and expressed its judgment that the call for such a convention should originate with the Union Synod.[93] The Union Synod took action upon the matter at its convention of 1868,[94] but it did not meet the expectation of the Western Conference. The intention of the Western Conference was to unite in a new synod all Lutherans in Indiana in sympathy with the General Council. The Union Synod either did not understand this, or else evaded the real question and framed its report so as to embrace all Lutherans in the

92 Min. 1866: 22.

93 Letter of Rev. M. J. Stirewalt to the Union Synod.

94 Minutes U. Synod, 1868: 11.

state, irrespective of synodical affiliation. It well knew that such a union was impracticable and impossible at that time. But Rev. E. Rudisill, who professed to be in favor of the General Council, and dominated the synod, frustrated the design of the Western Conference by insisting upon a plan and terms which he knew it would not accept.[95] The conference then proceeded upon its own authority, and a call was issued through the *Lutheran and Missionary* for a convention to be held in connection with the conference at its spring meeting in St. Paul's church, Fulton county, Indiana, May 20, 1869. The convention was organized by the election of Rev. G. Schmogrow chairman, and Emmanuel Reed secretary. There were eight pastors and three lay delegates present.[96] Those present were all of one mind as to the necessity of a new synod. Letters from a number of pastors who could not be present were received, all urging the organization of a new ecclesiastical body, but there was a diversity of opinion as to the time when the organization should be effected. Some thought the time not yet at hand, and the movement premature, and because premature, might only prevent the future organization of a more efficient body. The final decision reached was that the time had come for the organization, and that delay would prove injurious. The convention appointed a committee to lay before the English District Synod the reasons and mo-

[95] Rudisill's vanity and jealousy would not consent to a proposition of union which originated outside of his own brain. His actions from henceforward proved that he was not in sympathy with the General Council, but wished to lead the Union Synod into the General Synod.

[96] The pastors were Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, Rev. Isaac Hursh, Rev. A. V. House, Rev. T. W. Corbet, Rev. G. Schmogrow, Rev. H. Fairchild and Rev. Frederichson.

tives influencing members in Indiana to form a new synod, and take counsel from the synod as might best promote the work. The convention adjourned to meet at Lima, Ohio, immediately after the sessions of the English District Synod at that place the following August, for the purpose of consummating as soon as possible the proposed organization.[97]

But before the time arrived for the Lima convention a storm was gathering that threatened to destroy the bright prospects of the proposed new synod. To understand the situation we must go back to the Reading convention, December 12-14, 1866. The Joint Synod as well as its English District were represented in that convention and participated in its deliberations, but when the General Council was organized, November 20, 1867, the Joint Synod not only declined to go into immediate union with that body, but it also opposed the union of its English District with it. At its special session in 1867, the Joint Synod appointed delegates to the General Council,[98] which should convene in Fort Wayne the following November, which indicates that it intended to consummate its union with that body. In August, 1867, the English District Synod convened, and while its president expressed regret that the Joint Synod, through a majority at its special session, declined to enter into immediate union with the General Council, yet it proceeded to the adoption of both the fundamental principles of faith and church polity, and the constitution of the General Council, and appointed delegates to represent it at the Fort Wayne convention.

97 Letter of Rev. J. L. S. in *Lutheran and Missionary* May 22, 1869.

98 Min. of J. Synod, German, of June 13-19, 1867: 12. Also Min. Eng. Dist. Synod, 1867: 12.

When this question came up before the English District Synod there arose a difference of opinion as to the propriety of taking action. The matter was referred to a committee who presented a majority and a minority report. These reports approved the fundamental principles and the constitution of the General Council, but the minority report took the grounds that the synod was not prepared to adopt the documents in question, for two reasons, namely, respect for the judgment of the Joint Synod as set forth at its last convention on this subject, as also their desire for her peace and unity; and, that by appointing delegates to the General Council, the synod would have double representation at the next meeting of that body, a thing to which it was not entitled.[99] The majority report was taken up and the fundamental principles were adopted without a dissenting voice. The constitution of the General Council was adopted by a vote of 32 to 18. The supporters of the report took part in the election of the delegates to the General Council, without a protest.[100] It thus appears that the minority acquiesced in this action and participated in the consummation of the English District Synod's union with the General Council. The synod had no thought then, nor the following year of severing its connection with the Joint Synod by this action.

To this action the Joint Synod took exception, not on the ground of double representation, but that union with the General Council was separation from the Joint Synod. But notwithstanding this position of the Joint Synod, to which the English District demurred and solemnly protested its regard, love and devotion to the Joint Synod,

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99 Minutes of E. D. S., 1867: 12.

100 Minutes of E. D. S., 1869: 7.

it recognized the English District Synod as a part of itself, admitted its representatives without any question, until after the Lima convention of 1869. The English District claimed that it exercised its rights, granted by its own and by the Joint Synod's constitution,[101] when it united with the General Council.[102] Other questions became involved in the dispute and the controversy became quite bitter. The Joint Synod was determined that the English District Synod should not remain in the General Council, while the English District Synod was equally determined to maintain its union with that body, and let its relation to the Joint Synod be determined later. It protested its good will, love and support for that body, and against the latter's misrepresentations of its action. It desired peace and harmony, and did not apprehend a rupture until after its convention of 1868.

The Joint Synod, as before stated, recognized the English District Synod as an integral part of itself, after its union with the General Council, received its members and granted them all rights and privileges. It evidently hoped to secure a reversal of its action. To secure this end it was claimed by the English District Synod that members of other districts were dismissed to it,[103] and that some of its own members were urged to inaugurate revolutionary proceedings.[104] To protect itself against such

101 At the Reading convention the Joint Synod was counted, not as one synod, but as five synods. This conceded the right of each district synod to determine its own relation to the General Council, irrespective of its relation to the Joint Synod.

102 Minutes of E. D. S., 1868: 10.

103 There were four pastors, thus dismissed, present to be received at the Lima convention.

104 There was a determined opposition to the movement for a new synod in Indiana on the part of the leaders of the Joint

contingency, President Worley in his report to the synod in 1869, recommended the adoption of a resolution requiring all applicants for membership to give assurance that they are in full accord and sympathy with the synod's position. This resolution was offered, and immediately adopted, by a small majority, before organization for the ensuing year was effected.[105] This provoked a bitter and prolonged debate. The president of the Joint Synod was present and asked to be heard, but was refused. Thereupon a vigorous protest was entered, signed by twelve pastors and five lay delegates.[106] These withdrew from the synod, and retiring to the court-house, organized a rival synod under the same name and title, which body the Joint Synod recognized as the legitimate English Evangelical Lutheran District Synod of the Joint Synod. This disruption and defection wrought such havoc in the ranks of the Western Conference, some of whom were in this movement,[107] that the proposed convention, after the adjournment of the synod, was either forgotten or rendered impracticable. For a time the project of a new synod was deferred.

But the purpose was not relinquished by its friends. The English District Synod, after the defection and before the final adjournment, reorganized the Western Conference under the title the Indiana Conference. It held its first session in Trinity church, Webster, Kosciusko county,

Synod. They persuaded several Indiana pastors to hold aloof, and oppose the movement. Their plea was, "Wait until the English District Synod has passed the crisis." Letter of Rev. J. L. S. to Dr. Passavant, May 31, 1869.

105 Minutes of Withdrawing Party, p. 4.

106 Minutes of E. D. Synod, 1869: 24.

107 Revs. G. Weber, G. Schmogrow, A. Birch and W. J. Shroyer.

Indiana, October 26, 1869. At its second convention, held in East Germantown, Indiana, May 13, 1870, the Rev. E. S. Henkel, of the Union Synod, was present and received as an advisory member. "In accepting the invitation he stated that he had a special object in visiting this conference, namely to try to effect a union between the conference and the Union Synod." In its action on this proposition the Indiana Conference decided "to make an earnest effort to effect a union between the General Council element in the state, which union shall be in effect a synod based upon the principles of faith and church polity of the General Council," and in order to consummate the work, elected a delegate to the next convention of the Union Synod. It instructed this delegate that if he found the Union Synod unqualifiedly accepting the General Council's position, and a willingness to give the conference a share in regulating the local arrangements of said synod, steps should be taken by the conference that its members unite with the Union Synod as soon as practicable. The delegate, however, did not attend the convention of the Union Synod, because in the meantime other questions arose which deferred the contemplated union.

This action of the conference was referred to the English District Synod at its convention at Goshen, Indiana, August 4-9, 1870. It was approved and the conference authorized "cordially to invite the ministers of that state in sympathy with the General Council to meet with it for the purpose of conferring with reference to a union in the formation of a new synod in Indiana."

It will be observed that the English District Synod in its action contemplated the formation of an entirely new synod, while the Indiana Conference contemplated a

union with the Union Synod, provided it unreservedly accepted the General Council's position. The District Synod distrusted the sincerity of the Union Synod, and was therefore unwilling that its pastors should unite with it until all possibility of unlutheran views and practices was precluded. On the other hand the Union Synod disliked the idea of its own dissolution as a means of effecting the desired results. Some of its pastors, however, were tired of the tyranny and vacillations of Rudisill, and were ready to unite with the new body and leave the Union Synod to its fate. Under these conditions and because of personal and synodical interests, it required great caution, patience, tact, and diplomacy to direct the movements so as to secure the desired object.

The second movement which now played an important part in the scheme originated with the executive committee of home missions of the General Council. When it became evident that a rupture would occur in the English District Synod, the General Council determined to occupy Indiana and secure the advantages presented in that state. The foresight of Dr. Passavant[108] enabled him to perceive that the field, if occupied, would in time become of great advantage to the Council.

His plan was to preclude as far as possible the ab-

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108 The Rev. Dr. Passavant was the leading spirit in the executive committee of home missions, and it was he who planned the work. Every matter that might arise to hinder the work in Indiana was carefully gone over. The Tennessee type of Lutheranism, the secret society question, the General Synod's influence in the state, the vacancies, the new fields that were open, and the man best fitted for the field missionary, all were carefully weighed. The correspondence between the executive committee and Rev. J. L. Stirewalt reveals these facts, and shows that the work was carefully planned and skillfully executed.

sorption of the Union Synod by the General Synod, to which Dr. Rudisill, notwithstanding his former bitterness toward that body, and his hard sayings against it in his "Expose," was now not only ready, but determined to lead it. As seen in the preceding chapter, the General Synod was courting the Union Synod, and making overtures to it to come that way. This was the only formidable obstacle that stood in the way of the success of the Council. The Joint Synod element in the state was not acceptable to the Union Synod, so that the executive committee had little or nothing to fear from that quarter. The Indiana members of the English District Synod who remained true to the Joint Synod were so small a minority, and so undecided, that it required all the tact and influence of the Joint Synod to hold them in line. The real question, therefore, resolved itself to this, can the General Council secure for itself the pastors and congregations of the Union Synod? The proposition was a delicate one, and the most skillful diplomacy was necessary to solve it to its own advantage.

Another matter was also to be kept in mind. The English District Synod, after the rupture at Lima, could not spare its Indiana men until its relation to the Joint Synod was determined. That body was ready as early as 1868 to authorize its pastors and congregations in Indiana to form a new synod, but after the Lima convention it dared not weaken itself by dismissing them for that purpose until the crisis had been passed. The first intention was to organize a new synod in Indiana, and leave the Union Synod to its fate, but the other question forced it to hold the matter in abeyance for a year or more. This explains the delay on the part of the Indiana Conference, and the failure of its delegate to the Union Synod to

attend its convention in 1870. Meanwhile the sentiment in the Union Synod favorable to the Council was developing, and the executive committee was quick to take advantage.

In order to carry out its plans most effectually the executive committee called the Rev. Julius L. Stirewalt as the special agent of the General Council for Indiana.[109] Among other duties he was instructed "to do all in his power to promote the organization of a new synod in Indiana in harmony with the General Council, and to organize new congregations, and supply vacancies." The executive committee planned the work, and he worked the plan.

The selection of Rev. J. L. Stirewalt for this delicate position was a wise, fortunate and happy choice. He was brought up under the Tennessee type of Lutheranism, and would therefore commend himself to the conservative men of the Union Synod. He was a member of the English District Synod, and had the confidence of all the General Council brethren in that body. He had never been a member of any secret society, so that the Joint Synod men could not cast that charge in the way. In disposition he was most affable, and courteous in deportment. As a preacher he was persuasive, and as a debater there were few who cared to combat him. He won and held the friendship and confidence of many wherever he went, and he was oblivious to the criticisms and attacks of his opponents.

No sooner did he receive his commission than he set about the work. His methods were honorable and above board. He met the objections of the Joint Synod and of the General Synod to the Council's position frankly, and

[109] The call is dated March 15, 1869.

replied to them without evasion. He placed the official documents of the several bodies before the people and the pastors, and encouraged them to examine them for themselves. He was a sound Lutheran, and irenical in spirit. His first work was to visit the vacant parishes in Indiana, and supply them with preaching. He was instrumental in having General Council pastors placed in several vacant parishes. Rev. M. J. Stirewalt was called to the East Germantown charge. He had served Salem,[110] Augusta, St. Marks, Whitestown, and St. James, Montgomery county, for some years while they were in connection with the Union Synod and prepared them for the new synod.[111] These he continued to supply until a General Council pastor could be placed in charge, which was soon effected by the calling of Rev. J. Wesner. The Mulberry parish was also secured to the General Council. The divided sentiment was overcome and the congregations prepared for the new step. All doubtful points were visited, and the General Council's literature diligently circulated. The efforts of Rudisill and his followers, Revs. D. Smith and A. Thompson, were successfully checkmated in almost every case. On May 21, 1871, he met a number of the Union Synod pastors at St. James' church, Montgomery county, and had a conference with them relative to the free conference soon to be held at Whitestown, Indiana. The sentiment expressed by them was that none of them cared to hold on to the old organization.[112] The leaven was working and everything promised well for the future. Rev. J. L. Stirewalt was faithful to

110 Salem was independent.

111 Min. Union Synod, '66: 9; '67: 3.

112 Those pastors were E. S. Henkel, Jacob Wesner, J. E. Wesner, N. Booher, H. Fairchild.

his trust. Enfeebled by disease and frequently unable to preach, he continued his work into which he was called, until the task was completed, and then he entered into his rest in Christ and in peace.[113]

On the territory of the contemplated synod there was also a man to whom much credit is due for the final success of the movement. This was the Rev. M. J. Stirewalt. He could not affiliate with the Union Synod, because of its doctrinal position and lax practices, although for several years he served congregations in connection with that synod. He was brought up under the Tennessee Synod, and this gave him an advantage with the congregations that had suffered from the Destructionism heresy. He was a member of the English District Synod, and heartily in sympathy with the General Council. He was to a large degree the mediator between the Union Synod members and the English District Synod. He cooperated heartily with Rev. J. L. Stirewalt, aiding him in the visitation of the churches, and supplementing his work with an extensive correspondence. He enlisted the sympathy and cooperation of several pastors of the Union Synod, in the proposed new synod and aided in turning the sentiment of the congregations Councilward.

Within eighteen months after the Rev. J. L. Stirewalt entered upon this delicate task, supported by the executive committee and by the conservative Lutherans upon the ground, the field was ready for a forward movement. The Indiana Conference met August 9, 1870, in Goshen, Indiana, and issued a call for a convention of all the General Council element in Indiana, to meet in Whitestown, Indiana, June 20, 1871. In response to this

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[113] He died June 16, 1872, aged 40 yrs., 2 mos. and 4 days.

call the following pastors were found to be present: Rev. Samuel Wagenhals, of Fort Wayne, and a member of the Pittsburg Synod; Revs. E. S. Henkel, Jacob Wesner, J. Efrid Wesner, Nathan Booher, of the Union Synod; Revs. Isaac Hursh, J. Weber, Henry Fairchild, David M. Wiseman and Miles J. Stirewalt, of the English Evangelical Lutheran District Synod; Rev. C. F. Sandstrom, of La Fayette; Reuben E. McDaniel, a student of theology, and Delegate Joseph Etter. Organization was effected by electing Rev. J. Weber, president, and Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, secretary. The convention entered upon the work before it. Various resolutions were offered in order to bring out the sense of the conference, in reference to a union in the formation of a new synod. After a full and free discussion of the various plans presented upon which a union in a new synod should be effected, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Whereas*, in the judgment of this conference, the time has come that an effort should be made to consolidate all Lutherans in the state of Indiana who confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, be it therefore

"*Resolved*, that we, the members of this convention, pledge ourselves to use every proper means in our power to bring about such consolidation at as early a day as possible.

"*Resolved*, that as a preliminary step to such organization, we adopt the fundamental principles of faith and church polity as set forth in the constitution of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran church in North America.

"*Resolved*, that a committee of four ministers be appointed to prepare a constitution, and to correspond with all Evangelical Lutheran ministers in Indiana known to

be in sympathy with the General Council, inviting them to unite with us in a convention for the purpose of uniting the Lutheran element in the state in sympthy with the General Council into one synod.

"*Resolved*, that said committee be empowered to determine the time and place of holding such convention, and to issue a call for the same, if possible, within the current year."

The committee was elected by ballot, and consisted of Revs. Samuel Wagenhals, J. Weber, Jacob Wesner, and J. Efrid Wesner, who in due time called a convention to meet in Zion's Evangelical Lutheran church, East Germantown, Indiana, October 19, 1871. (Manuscript Minutes of the Free Conference.)

The convention met at the appointed time and place. Three clerical representatives from the Union Synod, Revs. J. Wesner, J. E. Wesner and Nathan Booher, and a like number from the English District Synod, Revs. Isaac Hursh, J. Weber, and M. J. Stirewalt, and four lay delegates were present. The object of the convention was stated to be the organization of "a synod in which may be united, if possible, all Lutherans in the state of Indiana who confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and desire cooperation with the General Council." Organization was effected by the election of Rev. J. E. Wesner president, and Rev. J. Wesner secretary. After three days' deliberation a constitution was adopted, and by resolution the convention organized the Indiana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church. The officers elected were Rev. J. E. Wesner, president, Rev. J. Wesner, secretary, and Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, treasurer. The date was Monday, the 23d day of October, A. D., 1871.

The person to whom the credit for this successful and happy consummation is chiefly due is the General Council's home missionary in Indiana, the Rev. J. L. Stirewalt. It was through his personal visits to the Union Synod at St. George's church, Shelby county, Indiana, in 1869, and at Newberry, Indiana, in 1870, that that body was induced to accept the proposition to form a new synod instead of attempting to absorb the General Council element in the state. It was due to his clear and forcible argument, and his candid explanation of the General Council's fundamental principles at the convention of 1869, that led the Union Synod to adopt those principles. At this convention he succeeded in staying the efforts made by the representatives of the General Synod to lead the Union Synod into that body. It was he, when the wily Rudisill and his followers planned to reverse a former action, that met their arguments manfully, and saved the synod to the General Council. It was this defeat that induced Rudisill to withdraw from the synod and let it take its course. When the Union Synod finally left the question to its congregations with which of the two general bodies it should unite Rev. J. L. Stirewalt was diligent in visiting them and explained to them the position and principles of the two bodies. In this he took no advantage that was unfair. His purpose was to develop among the churches a deeper Lutheran consciousness and a more churchly practice. So forcible were his arguments, so frank his manner, and so deferential his attitude toward his opponents, that he seldom failed to win the confidence, love and esteem of all who heard him. It was with great joy therefore that he saw the successful consummation of this work, and he felt amply repaid for his labors. To him, perhaps more

than to any other man, does the Indiana (Chicago) Synod owe its existence. The executive committee planned wisely, but without his skillful execution the plans would have failed. "We see very clearly," writes Dr. Passavant June 10, 1869, "that God has directed us in the choice of our missionary, to the praise of His Holy Name. It seems really providential that we entered the Indiana field first."

The doctrinal basis of the Indiana Synod was distinctively and unequivocally Lutheran. In view of the movements that led to its formation, no other position could be expected. "It confesses that the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, given by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are the clear, only and sufficient rule of faith; that the three general creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, exhibit the faith of the church universal, in accordance with this rule; that the Unaltered Augsburg Confession is, in all its parts, in harmony with the rule of faith, and is a correct exhibition of doctrine; and that the apology, the two catechisms of Luther, the Smalcald articles, and the formula of Concord, are a faithful development and defense of the doctrines of the Word of God, and of the Augsburg Confession." It provided that all questions concerning the faith and practice of the church, and the administration of the sacraments, shall be decided in accordance with this rule, and with these confessions.

The synod at its first convention devoted itself to the home mission cause. Its territory was rich in Lutheran material and in opportunities for establishing new congregations. This legacy left to it by the Union Synod, while not altogether desirable, was nevertheless entitled to solicitude and care. There were some twenty or more con-

gregations still in existence, some of them strong and united, some weak and rent in factions, which required shepherding. It was demonstrated in a few cases that with the adverse influence of Rudisill removed, the dissentient elements could be united and harmonized, and churchly practices introduced.

The letters of Rev. J. L. Stirewalt show that the Lutheran material was sufficient in many places to form respectable congregations. In most cases it was only waiting to be gathered and shepherded. While he was charged in his call to organize new congregations the other duties of promoting the organization of a new synod so taxed his feeble strength, and required so much of his time, that this important work had to be deferred indefinitely, and because of this delay, much of it was lost to the Lutheran church.

It therefore fell to the lot of the newly organized synod to enter the field and look after the material which was waiting to be gathered and organized. In order to secure the best results with their limited means, the synod resolved upon the following: "1. That each of our congregations be recommended to organize societies in their connection for the purpose of raising funds for missionary and educational purposes, and that they be requested to turn over such funds to the synodical treasury, to be applied to such mission and educational wants as may be presented to the synod. 2. That the president shall assign to each minister of this synod a mission field. 3. That each minister shall visit, as often as necessary, such mission field, and report its condition to the president. 4. That the president shall use his efforts to secure pastors for such mission fields, and 5. That such mission fields be requested by the minister visiting them to

pay his traveling expenses." In his annual report the next year the president called the synod's attention to the missionary work, urging that it should make itself a missionary synod, that occupying missionary grounds as it did, the only hope of the Lutheran church in this state for a glorious future lay in a faithful and zealous prosecution of her missionary work. The educational cause was urged in the same connection, "for we can no more sustain missions without men," says the president, "than we can sustain them without money." In order to prosecute this work intelligently and systematically that permanent results might follow, and in order to enter more aggressively upon the work, the synod created the office of superintendent of missions, whose duties were to supply vacant congregations, and to look after the mission interests of the synod. The synod pledged him a salary of $500 per year and his traveling expenses. He was authorized to receive offerings from the congregations and missions visited by him, which were to be credited to the synod. Rev. M. J. Stirewalt was elected as the first incumbent of this office. Pastor Stirewalt also was the home missionary for Indiana under the appointment of the executive committee of the General Council. He entered zealously upon the duties of his office. At the time of his election there were eight vacancies in the synod, and followed by two more shortly after. Most of these he supplied at intervals during the year, or made arrangements with other pastors to have them supplied. He sought with a good degree of success to encourage and preserve existing vacant congregations and wherever practicable, he assisted them in obtaining pastors. Four of the vacant pastorates were thus provided for. He also sought, as opportunity offered, to encourage the widely

scattered members of our household of faith to steadfastness, and to attempt new enterprises in the interests of our beloved Zion. During the first year of his office he made 40 visits to congregations, preached 117 times, catechised 27 times, baptized 23, confirmed 28, and held five communions. He collected from points visited $541.65, and his traveling expenses were $139.45. At its convention in 1873 the Synod adopted the "Plan of Action for Missionary Work" recommended by the General Council. Pastor Stirewalt was elected missionary president, as provided for by said plan, and also as superintendent of missions.

During the year following this convention, the missionary president of the synod labored quite zealously, and the work prospered. He authorized several pastors to make missionary tours, in order to supply vacancies and missions, as the field was so extensive that the missionary president could not attend to all the calls in person. Several vacancies were supplied with pastors through his efforts. Many of the vacant congregations were in a dying condition, some of them entirely disorganized, while others, feeling themselves neglected, had lost much of their zeal and church love. Into most of these, by the blessings of God, the labors of the general missionary and others infused new life, fresh love and earnest zeal. During the year he preached 106 times, catechised frequently, baptized 16, confirmed 2, held 5 communions, organized one congregation, and assisted at the dedication of one church. During the year he collected $348.70, and his traveling expenses were $191.95. Then followed an interim of nearly two years that the synod did not have a traveling missionary, but left the work chiefly to the missionary president, who could de-

vote only a part of his time to it. Yet under these conditions the work to a degree prospered. The synod's interest in the mission cause did not diminish, but it was unable to secure a suitable person who would accept the call to the place. After October 1875, the synod did not elect a general missionary, but left the missionary president to discharge the duties of that office. In March 1876, Rev. J. E. Wesner devoted the whole of his time to this work, until the next meeting of the synod. He visited the vacancies, supplied the missions, and thus kept alive the interest in the work. From November 7, 1876, Rev. R. E. McDaniel labored in the capacity of general missionary until May 7, 1877. During the six months of his office he held 66 services, visited 81 families, baptized 8, held two communions, received into membership 28, officiated at three funerals, and traveled 1,918 miles. Collected $119.28, expenses, $62.87. He reported the outlook favorable. In 1877 he was elected missionary president, and gave personal attention to the field. He reported great desolation in the bounds of the synod, with no available remedy at command. The children of the church cried for bread, and went elsewhere to find it. From 1879, onward, the missionary president was usually so situated that his own parish required all his time, and he could not give any time to personal inspection and oversight. He exercised a kind of superintendence over the missions, and presented recommendations to the mission committee for their action.

The synod, during this period, did excellent missionary work. Several mission charges were formed, which subsequently became respectable and prosperous parishes. In some places where funds were appropriated no fruits were produced. The St. Paul's church, Olney, Ill., was

for a while a mission of the synod, but left irregularly and united with the Central Illinois Synod. Mt. Solomon's church, Corydon, Indiana, received assistance for several years and flourished. The First English Evangelical Lutheran church of Decatur, Illinois, was organized October 24, 1882, and the next year was received by the synod and placed on its list of missions. It grew steadily in strength and influence, and was subsequently transferred to the Board of English Home Missions of the General Council.

In 1884 Rev. Jesse Dunn began work at Syracuse and Nappanee, Indiana, in connection with his charge at Benton. The outlook was auspicious, and aid was extended for several years, and in due time the field became a self-supporting parish. In 1888 two new missions were assumed and in part supported by the synod — St. Paul's, Frankfort, and Zion's, Portland, Indiana. The former had existed for some years and was a part of the Mulberry parish. Its interests demanded the entire time of a pastor, and it was therefore detached from that parish and became a mission of the synod. It called the Rev. D. L. Reese, and grew steadily in strength and influence, and in the course of several years became self-sustaining.

Zion's, Portland, Indiana, was organized by Rev. M. J. Stirewalt in 1888. It was received into synodical connection the next year, and aid furnished it. It made progress in the face of many obstacles, and with the missions at Frankfort and Decatur, Illinois, was transferred to the Board of English Home Missions of the General Council, December 1, 1892. This action was taken upon the recommendation of the General Council, in order that all missions of the several synods might be under the management of the Board. But the other synods of the

Council declined to transfer their missions, and the Indiana Synod, after paying over to the board all its mission funds, for several years resumed synodical missionary activity. Its field was rich in material and vast in opportunities. Its growth as a synod depended upon the mission work. The General Council's Board did not feel prepared to prosecute the work in the synod's territory, as its importance demanded, and the synod therefore felt itself called to prosecute its own mission work to the fullest extent of its ability. It expressed itself ready, however, to turn all its mission interests over to the Board, whenever the other synods would do the same.

In 1893 Rev. J. F. Booher, on his own responsibility, canvassed Elwood, Indiana, and organized a congregation. It asked assistance from the synod, but it was unable to grant as much as was desired, owing to its relations to the Board of English Home Missions. Rev. Mr. Booher, however, continued his labors with success. A lot was purchased and a church erected. Money for this purpose was contributed by friends of the cause. In 1894 the mission applied for membership in the synod, provided an appropriation of $200 was made for its support. This proposition the synod could not accept, but it assured the mission that all would be done for it that lay within its power. This action displeased the mission, and it sought membership and assistance from the Olive Branch Synod, which received it into synodical connection, and granted the desired aid.

In 1893 the General Council's Board of Home Missions organized a congregation in Anderson, Indiana, and called Rev. W. J. Finck, of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, as the missionary. The congregation was received into the synod in September of the same year. About the same

time work was also begun by the board in Englewood, Chicago, which resulted in the organization of St. John's English Evangelical Lutheran church. It became a part of the synod in 1895.

The synod took commendable interest in the educational work that is inseparably connected with the church's progress. It felt the need of a thoroughly equipped ministry, and the advantages of an intelligent laity. In order to secure the former it rendered substantial aid to young men who offered themselves as candidates for the holy office, that they might prepare themselves in approved institutions. The practices that obtained under the Synod of Indiana, and the Union Synod, while the best the conditions then prevailing made possible, were however very unsatisfactory, and the time had now come when such training was inadequate to the demands. The Synod therefore wisely required, whenever possible, that its candidates secure a collegiate and seminary training. Until 1891 it had but few candidates who could take such a course, but after that year, it has had beneficiaries on its roll continuously. In its earlier years it aided young men, who, when their course was completed remained in the east. This had a discouraging effect, as these men were sorely needed in its own, but less inviting fields. In order to retain its candidates, it permitted a number to pursue their studies privately and ordained them to the office of the ministry as soon as it was satisfied with their acquirements and qualifications.

The needs of a collegiate and theological institution were long felt by the churches in this territory, and long before the civil war, steps were taken by the congregations and the Synod of Indiana, looking towards such an undertaking. But the time had not yet come, nor were the

churches able to establish such an institution. But the hope never was abandoned. When the project of establishing a theological seminary in Chicago by the General Council was made public, the churches in Indiana hailed it with joy. The synod took a deep interest in the movement, as it promised a solution of the perplexing question that confronted it, namely the planting of missions, and manning them. It also promised ministers who were trained for the work, workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of truth. As early as 1869 the General Council contemplated the opening of such a seminary in Chicago, and took action relative to it each succeeding meeting.

In 1872 the General Council gave tangible form to the institution by electing a board of directors, consisting of twenty-four members. Of these the Revs. Samuel Wagenhals and John H. Hunton, and Messers. H. J. Rudisill, Geo. H. Dieckmann and Andrew Drischel were of the Indiana Synod. Rev. E. Jacobs was elected English professor in the institution, and a constitution for its government was adopted. Everything promised favorably for the early opening of the seminary. But unforeseen obstacles arose which compelled the council to defer the opening of the institution. In 1876 the delegation of the Indiana Synod to the General Council reported on this matter as follows: "Nobody in connection with the General Council has a deeper interest in the ultimate success of such an institution than our synod. Occupying as we do, the most westerly position of the English synods of the council, charged with the cultivation of a field that would tax a body of three times our number, dependent entirely upon removals from other synods to supply vacancies in our established parishes, and utterly at a loss for men to

FIRST ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH
N. Main and Williams St., Decatur, Ill.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY
LaSalle Ave. and Elm St., Chicago, Ill.

develop our extensive mission fields, what can our future be but one of failure if we have no definite and constant source from which to draw our supplies for the ministry?

Some of us have long doubted the wisdom of a theological seminary at Chicago, unless the men and means could be had to establish, at the very outstart, a school of high order. Experience and a minuter knowledge of the needs of our church in the west, have induced us to recede from this opinion. Great is the harvest to which the cities of our territory invite us, but not so abundant as the fruit which faithful labor might gather in our towns, villages and country districts, where little bands of Lutherans have cast their lot. Another generation, and they must be lost to our church if not cared for. From this fact we cannot turn away. For the work of gathering these, our scattered brethren, into congregations there is needed, not so much the man of great abilities or of polished education, as the pious, humble, practical man, who, with average talent, has been trained to expound the word of God in accordance with sound theology. For the training of such a ministry, a seminary fully equipped and endowed, is not requisite. Rather your delegates are persuaded that the General Council has now at its disposal all that is needed for the beginning of such a school, and though its origin be but as a grain of mustard seed, such is the soil in which its roots shall fasten, that it will in time develop into one of the greatest of its kind. Your delegates would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the synod duly consider this grave question upon the immediate and right solution of which depends in great measure the cultivation of our vast mission field."[114] In regard to this suggestion the synod

[114] In the light of subsequent history, this was almost prophetic foresight.

resolved, "That in its opinion, the wants of our church in the west demand the early establishing of a theological seminary in Chicago, Illinois, as contemplated by the General Council, and that this synod earnestly recommend to the General Council the immediate opening of said seminary for the preparation of young men for the mission work." The next year the proposed seminary was again earnestly discussed and the synod "desired again to bring before the General Council the matter of the Chicago Theological Seminary, hoping that something will be done as soon as possible." In 1880 the president in his report to the synod recommended the reagitation of the establishment of a theological seminary in the west, and the synods action thereon was as follows: "Admitting the necessity of a theological seminary in the west, yet in consequence of our inability to contribute anything worth while towards that project, and the unwillingness of the General Council to favor the opening of such an institution at this time in Chicago, we deem it inadvisable to press the matter." In the spring of 1891 it was announced that the Chicago seminary would be opened on October 1st of that year. In bringing the matter to the attention of the synod, president C. Koerner says: "We should as a synod, not only hail the coming event with gladness, and earnestly hope that this new school of the prophets, will, in the providence of God, be instrumental in supplying the waste places of the west with suitable men; but also pray and labor in its behalf, so that not a few of the godly young men in our churches may find their way within its walls." This language the synod endorsed as the expression of its sentiment, and when the institution was opened, Mr. Joseph Allen Leas of Benton, Indiana, was one of the students present, since which time the

synod has had continuously a representative in that institution. In 1894 Mr. Merrill E. Boulton of Goshen, Indiana, entered the institution. The same year Mr. Leas was ordained, and the synod began to reap the fruits of the seminary's work.

Besides the need of a theological seminary for the training of candidates, the synod was also deeply conscious of the need of a literary institution in which the youth of the church might receive a good education under positive Christian influence. The tendency of the secular schools has been to lead away from the church and from the faith of the fathers. Many of her brightest sons, some of whom in their youth had the ministry in view, were not only lost to the church, but alienated from the faith through the materialistic influence of the secular schools. Some entered institutions of other denominations and were induced to cast their lot with them, instead of entering the service of the Lutheran church. The synod always felt that the only way in which to avoid this materialistic spirit and unchurchly tendency lay in the establishment of an institution, liberal in its offers, broad in its curriculum, and positively Christian in its spirit and atmosphere, in which the youth of the church and all others who desire to avail themselves of the opportunities might receive instruction and training. The need was sorely felt, but the necessary means for its realization were not at hand. As in the question of the theological seminary, the synod had to wait until Providence indicated the time, prepared the agent, and opened the way.

In order to be ready to avail itself of any opportunity that might open to the synod, it appointed a committee in 1897, which was continued for several years. This committee was charged to receive and investigate thor-

oughly any proposition for the establishment of such an institution. Two propositions were submitted to it. The one was from Mrs. E. L. Dieckmann, of Vandalia, Illinois, who tendered her residence property in that city for such a purpose. The offer was declined for various reasons, the chief one being the location, not being central. The other was a proposition from the Lima Educational Association, to transfer to the Chicago Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran District Synod of Ohio, jointly, Lima college. This proposition was carefully considered, but owing to the heavy liabilities of the institution, which the synods would have to assume, it also was declined. No further propositions were received, and the committee was finally discharged.

But the educational interests were not lost sight of. In 1900 Rev. P. C. Wike became the pastor of the Colburn parish. He at once agitated the matter of Christian education among his people, and met with a hearty response. Under his leadership and direction they resolved to open and maintain a parish school. A building was secured and a teacher employed, and the work was begun in an humble way. The thoroughness of the instruction, and the positive Christian character of the institution, commended it to all, even those who were not members of the church, and won for it patrons, friends and supporters. The school prospered in its humble sphere, and promised greater usefulness if its sphere could be enlarged and the support increased. In 1903 the management tendered the school to the synod. A board of trustees was elected, with instructions to accept the institution, operate and maintain it, but without any pecuniary responsibility to the synod. This board is self-perpetuating, and has become incorporated. Its charter privileges are liberal,

making ample provisions for the future enlargement of its scope of instruction. Under the management of this board the school has grown to the grade of an academy. In 1905 it was removed to Mulberry, Indiana, where it now owns twenty acres of ground. A landscape architect has surveyed the grounds, designated the location of buildings, driveways, walks, shade trees, and athletic grounds. In 1906 a four-story building, including basement, was erected at a cost of $20,000, and dedicated on Sunday, February 10, 1907. "The aim of the board of directors in establishing this institution is to make it a distinctively Christian school. The moral and spiritual training of its students is given equal attention with the intellectual training, hence the Bible holds a central place in the course of study. Christian conduct is urged in the life of its students, and persistent neglect of Bible study, and unchristian conduct will not be tolerated." The doctrinal basis of the Academy is distinctively Lutheran, and true to the church it represents, yet it is by no means narrow nor exclusive to students of other denominations.

The catalogue for the scholastic year 1906-7 shows a faculty of five instructors and forty-four pupils. From present indications a bright future is before this institution, and that it will in due time grow into a full-fledged college.

The synod always maintained the most cordial relations with the other synods of the General Council. When it was organized the territory designed for it was the state of Indiana. In 1867 the Synod of Illinois and adjacent states was organized, and became a part of the General Council. But before the Indiana Synod was organized that body withdrew from the Council, thus having Illinois as open territory for General Council English

Lutheranism. St. James' congregation, Vandalia, Ill., was a member of the Illinois Synod, but being a mission of the General Council, it was held by the Council when that synod went into Missouri, and became a part of the synod in 1873. St. Mark's congregation, Nokomis, Illinois, was received in 1872. The Gila pastorate in 1871, and the Claremont pastorate, consisting of St. James' and St. Paul's congregations, were received in 1874. By this turn of affairs the whole state of Illinois became practically a part of the synod's terrritory. Its eastern boundary was fixed as the Ohio-Indiana state line, but its western boundary was left undefined.

At the time of its organization there were two English General Council congregations in Chicago in connection with an eastern synod, and subsequently others were organized. And as the object in organizing the synod was to unite all the General Council element in these regions in one new synod, this synod contended that these congregations and their pastors should of right become affiliated with it. Efforts were made privately to induce these congregations to come into the synod, and with some degree of success.[115] It bore the anomalous condition patiently until 1892, when President Jesse Dunn called the synod's attention to the matter. The committee on the president's report took a positive stand in the following action: "*Whereas*, the constitution of the General Council gives to the district synods the right to define their respective boundaries, requesting them to be as nearly geographical as possible, and

"*Whereas*, it has always been regarded by common consent, and it was the tacit understanding at the time

115 Rev. C. Koerner came in 1885, Rev. F. C. C. Kaehler, 1886.

of the organization of the Indiana Synod, that its territory shall at least include the states of Indiana and Illinois, and

"*Whereas*, the English Evangelical Lutheran churches and their pastors, connected with the General Council, in these states are not all in organic union with the Indiana Synod, therefore

"*Resolved*, 1. That it is the sense and conviction of this synod that all General Council English congregations and their pastors in these states, connected with eastern synods, are in the bounds of the Indiana Synod, and ought to be in connection with it.

"2. That it is contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution of the General Council, and of our conception of fraternal cooperation, for pastors and congregations thereof, located in these states, to hold their membership in eastern synods.

"3. That such a state of affairs, and synodical relation is at variance with the best interests and welfare of our Lutheran Zion in these states, having a discouraging effect upon our already weak body.

"4. That we earnestly request those congregations and pastors within the bounds of this synod, connected with the General Council, to unite with this synod at their earliest opportunity.

"5. That if this unnatural relation and injurious attitude is continued we shall enter our solemn protest before their synods and the General Council, and demand that our rights and claims as a synod be no longer ignored." [116]

This action secured the desired results, and in the course of a few years every congregation and pastor re-

[116] Minutes 1892: 10.

ferred to united with the synod. Not until twenty-five years after the inauguration of the movement which resulted in the organization of the synod, was its real object fully attained.

The experience of the synod with some of the General Synod bodies was not always as pleasant as might be desired. Its rights and claims over congregations, which in a fit of ill-humor or under the influence of designing men, irregularly severed their relation with it, were entirely ignored in not a few cases, when those congregations applied for reception into those synods. The first congregation to withdraw from the synod was St. George's, Shelby county, Indiana, in 1873. It pursued a disorderly course toward the synod. It was entreated to reconsider its action and resume its former relation, and admonished that if it had any grievance to lay it before the synod. But these admonitions were disregarded and it attached itself to the Olive Branch Synod. In 1876 the St. Paul's congregation, Olney, Illinois, through the influence of a certain man who united with it, decided to withdraw from the synod and unite with the Central Illinois Synod. It notified the president of the synod of its action, and asked for dismission. The president had no authority to dismiss a congregation, and requested it to wait until the next convention, when the matter would come up regularly before that body. But the congregation would not wait, and sent a commission to the Central Illinois Synod to ask connection with that body. It was received without regard to the claims of the Indiana Synod. In 1877 the St. Paul's congregation, Shelby county, Indiana, was regularly dismissed. The Trinity congregation, Lancaster, Wabash county, Illinois, withdrew in 1878 through the influence of a pastor not in sympathy with the Indiana

Synod. In 1883 the Trinity Lutheran church, Goshen, Indiana, called a Joint Synod pastor, and severed its connection irregularly. It did not even ask for a dismissal. It 1886 St. Mark's church, Nokomis, Illinois, called a General Synod pastor and severed its connection with the synod. In October, 1889, the First English Lutheran church of Goshen decided to withdraw, but through prompt action on the part of the president, was induced to reconsider its action and remain. Several other congregations made ineffectual efforts to withdraw, but the movements were arrested before the object was attained. In every case of these withdrawals the congregations had called pastors not in sympathy with the synod.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the synod's organization was appropriately celebrated on Thursday evening, September 24, 1896, in the Evangelical Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity, Chicago, Illinois. The celebration was opened with the use of the Vesper service, after which appropriate addresses were delivered on the following subjects: "The Pioneer Work and Pre-existing Conditions," by Rev. M. L. Wagner; "The Organization of the Indiana (Chicago) Synod," by Rev. J. Wesner; "The Missionary Operations of the Synod," by Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, D. D.; and "The Future Outlook of the Synod," by Rev. S. Wagenhals, D. D. The addresses were listened to with rapt interest by a large congregation.

For a number of years there was considerable dissatisfaction with the name of the synod. Its operations had extended beyond the bounds of Indiana, so that the old name, the Indiana Synod, no longer properly designated its sphere of operations. It therefore, at its twenty-fifth convention, resolved to change its name to the Chicago Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church.

The reasons for the change of name from the Indiana Synod to the Chicago Synod were various and need not be enumerated here. They were regarded on the part of all concerned as of sufficient weight to warrant the change, and the result has proven the wisdom of the step. With the change of name also came the adoption of a new constitution. This instrument provides for all the things which twenty-five years of synodical experience deemed necessary. The opening of the Chicago Seminary in 1891 inspired the synod with a larger hope, and promised a solution of the perplexing problems which heretofore had confronted it. It therefore took a broad outlook for the future, and planned its work accordingly, and since which time it has worked the plan with gratifying success. It prayed the Lord of the harvest to send laborers into the field, and it wrought as it prayed, and He made it the agent for answering the prayer.

In the same year that the name of the synod was changed it reorganized its mission work. During twenty-five years of experience it acquired information by which it proposed to profit. It enlarged the mission committee to consist of five clerical and four lay members, and provided that it should meet not less than three times each year and thoroughly canvass the mission situation and interests. It was charged to prosecute the work with vigor. To do this its powers were enlarged to a degree commensurate with its duties. It reported annually to the synod, submitted its plans for the future, its judgment as to the best methods of procedure, and its recommendations as to the appropriations for the respective missions. In these the synod generally concurred and approved the committee's plans. It therefore entered heartily, enthusiastically and aggressively upon its work. It appealed to

the constituency of the synod for support, placed before them reports of the gratifying fruits of its labors, which aroused their interest and won their confidence. Its policy was that each mission should have the entire time of the missionary; that if a student was placed in charge of a mission it was with the view of it becoming his future field of pastoral activity. Students were thus encouraged to create for themselves fields of labor, instead of waiting for a vacancy to occur in an old and well established parish. This was the policy, and faithfully adhered to, so far as the existing conditions would permit. The seminary authorities also co-operated with the mission committee, through the students' help fund of that institution. By this means points within supporting distance from Chicago were cared for during eight months of the year, and by the mission committee during the other four months.

The fruits of this plan and effort were very gratifying. In 1896 one mission, St. Peter's, Chicago, was organized, St. Mark's was organized, and two old and almost dead congregations were resuscitated, namely, Union, Boone county, Indiana. and St. John's, of Ovid, Indiana. This was largely due to the aggressive missionary policy of the synod. In 1897, Hope Evangelical Lutheran congregation of Chrisman, Indiana, was received into the synod, but was subsequently transferred to another synod, in order to receive more regular service. The same year Wicker Park, and St. Mark's, Chicago, were received, largely due to the influence of the seminary authorities and the mission committee, while the Hicksville parish, consisting of two congregations, which had become alienated from the District Synod of Ohio, some years before, was, through the influence of Rev. Luther Hogshead, a seminary man, induced to unite with the synod.

The year 1897 witnessed the organization of St. Matthew's, Chicago, and the erection and dedication of its house of worship. Work was also begun in Alexandria, Indiana, under the direction of the committee. St. James', Chicago, was also organized in this year by seminary students. In 1899 Rev. A. J. Reichart, pastor of the Mulberry parish, began work in Lafayette, Indiana, which was approved and subsequently supported by the committee. Rev. A. C. Anda, pastor at Goshen, Indiana, began operations at South Bend, Indiana, which developed rapidly, while Zion's, Walnut Ridge, Allen county, Indiana, was resuscitated by the pastor of the Hicksville parish, and received into the synod.

The closing year of the century witnessed the organization of Zion's, Lafayette, Indiana, January 6th; Holy Trinity, South Bend, Indiana, January 9th; St. Luke's, Chicago, June 1st; and the Church of Our Blessed Savior, Alexandria, Indiana, June 3d. In 1901 St. John's, Nappanee, and the First English Evangelical Lutheran church of Mishawaka, Indiana, were founded. The year 1903 was ushered in by the organization of Holy Trinity, Elgin, Illinois. St. Paul's, Detroit, Michigan, organized some time before, was received into synodical connection, and the Church of the Atonement, Chicago, was organized (June.) The next year the Church of the Epiphany and St. Paul's, Richland county, Illinois, were received. The year 1905 witnessed the founding of four new congregations, the Church of the Redeemer, Aurora, Illinois, and one of the same name in Austin, a suburb of Chicago, one at Wheeler, Illinois, and Christ Church, Detroit, Michigan. Work was also begun at Ely's school house, near Lafayette, Indiana, which has a promising outlook. In 1907 there were admitted to synod

two congregations, the Church of the Reformation, Buckley, Illinois, and the Church of the Ascension, Chicago Heights, Illinois, and in 1908 Grace Evangelical Lutheran church of Woodstock, Illinois, was admitted.

In addition to the efforts which culminated in the above tangible results, work was begun at a number of points which were full of promise, but which, after a fair trial, were relinquished because no fruits were apparent. When the fruits appeared in due season, the work was pushed vigorously. The results from 1896 to 1906, a period of ten years, were twenty-two congregations organized, three resuscitated, and five established congregations received into synodical connection. The present (1906) statistical summary of the mission committee's report is as follows: Number of souls in connection with the missions 1873, communicants, 729, pupils in Sunday schools, 1,458. These missions have a property value of $55,600, had an income during the year of $11,039.90, and contributed to benevolent objects, $425.56. The amount appropriated by the synod for their support for the synodical year of 1906-1907 is $2,400.

The synod also reorganized its system of beneficiary education. Its plan is to conserve its funds contributed for this purpose, and to aid, not support, the candidates applying for assistance. The financial assistance rendered them is considered a loan, without interest, not a gift, which is to be repaid either in cash, or by service rendered in the capacity of a missionary. Since 1896 eight young men have been assisted in preparing for the ministry.

Recruits for the ranks of the ministry during the first quarter of a century were few, only ten candidates being ordained during that period. The reason for this was

chiefly the lack of an institution of learning. There were gifted young men in the synod who desired to enter the ministry, but the proper educational facilities were lacking. Some entered institutions of other denominations, and were lost to the Lutheran church. Some became discouraged and abandoned the purpose. Some entered institutions in the east, and when their course was completed, remained in the service of the church in that section. The majority of the candidates that were ordained during this period of twenty-five years, pursued their studies privately under the supervision and direction of some pastor. While they felt the lack of classical and theological training, they however became zealous, faithful and efficient pastors. The following are those ordained during the first twenty-five years:

Rev. Wm. Rein, June 19, 1874, at a special convention.
Rev. John G. M. Hursh, September 27, 1874.
Rev. John M. G. Sappenfield, September 27, 1874.
Rev. Jesse Dunn, June 8, 1884.
Rev. Martin L. Wagner, June 8, 1884.
Rev. David L. Reese, June 16, 1889.
Rev. J. A. Boord, June 1, 1890.
Rev. Mosheim S. Waters, June 1, 1890.
Rev. A. L. Boleik, September 27, 1891.
Rev. J. A. Leas, September 28, 1894.

After the Chicago Seminary was opened the candidates were more numerous. After 1897 there were ordinations either ad-interim, or at the synodical conventions, each year. They are as follows:

Rev. Austin D. Crile, April 29, 1897, ad-interim.
Rev. Luther Hogshead, April 29, 1897, ad-interim.
Rev. William Hall, April 29, 1897, ad-interim.
Rev. George P. Kabele, B. D., April 28, 1898, ad-interim.
Rev. Loran O. Pearch, April 28, 1898, ad-interim.
Rev. Zenan M. Corbe, May 29, 1899.
Rev. Harry B. Reed, May 29, 1899.

Rev. Alonzo H. Arbaugh, July 23, 1899, ad-interim.
Rev. Paul W. H. Frederick January 7, 1900, ad-interim.
Rev. George F. Dittmar, June 2, 1901.
Rev. William Eckert, June 2, 1901.
Rev. M. E. Haberland, June 2, 1901.
Rev. Henry K. Lantz, June 2, 1901.
Rev. William H. Shepfer, June 2, 1901.
Rev. Joel R. E. Hunt, June 2, 1901.
Rev. John V. Sappenfield, June 8, 1902.
Rev. Solomon D. Myers, June 8, 1902.
Rev. William J. Seiberling, June 8, 1902.
Rev. Paul W. Roth, June 14, 1903.
Rev. Paul J. Gerberding, June 14, 1903.
Rev. L. P. Pence, June 14, 1903.
Rev. Elmer D. S. Boyer, January 19, 1904, ad-interim.
Rev. John Knauer, June 5, 1904.
Rev. Lloyd W. Steckel, June 5, 1904.
Rev. L. J. Baker, June 25, 1905.
Rev. Andrew M. Sappenfield, June 17, 1906.
Rev. C. A. Dennig, June 2, 1907.
Rev. Henry M. Thompson, June 2, 1907.
Rev. F. E. Stough, June 2, 1907.
Rev. Martin L. Stirewalt, June 2, 1907.
Rev. H. J. Behrens, June 21, 1908.

During the first twenty-five years of its history the synod ordained ten candidates to the ministry, an average of one candidate every two and one-half years. From 1897 to 1907, a period of ten years, it ordained thirty-one candidates, an average of one candidate every four months.

The following ministers were members of this synod during the time indicated:

Rev. Isaac Hursh, 1871—1874; 1880—March 1, 1897. † 77 years, 11 months, 22 days.
Rev. J. Weber, 1871—1872.
Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, D. D., 1871—February 22, 1903. † 67 years, 9 months, 14 days.
Rev. J. E. Wesner, 1871—1879.

Rev. Jacob Wesner, 1871—1881; 1895—1902.
Rev. Nathan Booher, 1871—April 23, 1880. † 56 years, 2 months, 24 days.
Rev. Eusebius S. Henkel, 1871—December 17, 1874. † 63 years, 4 months, 21 days.
Rev. Eli Myers, 1871—February 29, 1876. † 57 years.
Rev. John H. Hunton, 1872—1874.
Rev. Samuel Wagenhals, D. D., 1872—
Rev. Henry Fairchild, 1873—June 4, 1891. † 72 years, 4 months, 6 days.
Rev. J. M. Long, 1873—1876.
Rev. Andrew V. House, 1873—
Rev. G. Schmogrow, 1873—1875.
Rev. J. J. Kuntz, 1873—1881.
Rev. James M. Harkey, 1874—October 11, 1875. † 56 years, 9 months, 8 days.
Rev. William Rein, 1874—1876; 1886—1889.
Rev. John M. G. Sappenfield, 1874—January 24, 1904. † 65 years, 5 months, 2 days.
Rev. John G. M. Hursh, 1874—1887.
Rev. N. Aldrich, 1875—1879.
Rev. D. M. Henkel, 1876—1882.
Rev. George Harter, 1876—1887.
Rev. W. C. L. Lauer, 1876—1881.
Rev. Reuben E. McDaniel, 1877—1890.
Rev. Amon E. Gift, 1879—May 16, 1900. † 50 years, 11 months, 7 days.
Rev. L. M. C. Weicksel, 1879—1887.
Rev. John Good, 1882—June 25, 1902. † 79 years.
Rev. James C. Barb, 1883—1895.
Rev. M. L. Wagner, 1884—1904.
Rev. Jesse Dunn, 1884—1897; 1904—1905; 1909—
Rev. A. W. Walter, 1884—1885; 1893—1896.
Rev. Charles Koerner, 1885—1902.
Rev. Franz C. C. Kaehler, 1886—September 5, 1894. † 48 years, 7 months, 26 days.
Rev. John D. Roth, 1886—1889.
Rev. John F. Booher, 1889—1895.
Rev. David L. Reese, 1889—
Rev. J. A. Boord, 1890—1891.

Rev. Mosheim S. Waters, 1890—1893.
Rev. A. L. Boleik, 1891—1893; 1903—1906.
Rev. J. N. Stirewalt, 1892—1893.
Rev. William J. Finck, 1893—1906.
Rev. C. K. Drumheller, 1892—1893.
Rev. W. R. Swickard, 1893—1897.
Rev. W. A. Sadtler, Ph. D., 1893—1901.
Rev. Joseph Allen Leas, 1894—1896.
Rev. G. D. Gross, 1895—1899.
Rev. R. L. Bame, 1895—1896.
Rev. H. L. McMurray, 1896—1898.
Rev. R. F. Weidner, D. D., LL. D., 1896—
Rev. George H. Gerberding, D. D., 1896—
Rev. Albert T. Clay, Ph. D., 1896—1901.
Rev. Frank C. Oberly, 1896—1899.
Rev. Isaiah Whitman, 1896—
Rev. William Evans, 1897—1901.
Rev. Austin D. Crile, 1897.
Rev. Wm. Hall, 1897—1898; 1908—
Rev. Luther Hogshead, 1897—1906.
Rev. S. P. Fryberger, 1897—1900.
Rev. Loran O. Pearch, 1898—1901.
Rev. George P. Kabele, B. D., 1898—1904.
Rev. Herman A. W. Yung, 1898—1900.
Rev. A. C. Anda, 1898.
Rev. Clement L. V. Dozer, 1898—1904.
Rev. Albert J. Reichart, 1899—1901.
Rev. Harry B. Reed, 1899.
Rev. Zenan M. Corbe, 1899.
Rev. Polycarp C. Wike, 1900—1908.
Rev. Alonzo H. Arbaugh, 1900.
Rev. Paul W. H. Frederick, 1900—1903.
Rev. Hiram Peters, D. D., 1901.
Rev. George F. Dittmar, 1901—1908.
Rev. William Eckert, 1901—1905.
Rev. M. E. Haberland, 1901.
Rev. Joel R. E. Hunt, 1901.
Rev. Henry K. Lantz, 1901—1903.
Rev. William H. Shepfer, 1901—1902.
Rev. William L. Hunton, Ph. D., 1902—1906.

Rev. Solomon D. Myers, 1902.
Rev. William J. Seiberling, 1902.
Rev. John V. Sappenfield, 1902.
Rev. M. E. Boulton, 1903—1906.
Rev. J. C. Dietz, 1903—1906.
Rev. J. A. Miller, 1903—1908.
Rev. Paul W. Roth, 1903.
Rev. Paul J. Gerberding, 1903.
Rev. L. P. Pence, 1003—1906.
Rev. Herbert M. Martens, 1904—1906.
Rev. Theodore Weiskotten, 1904.
Rev. Elmer D. S. Boyer, 1904.
Rev. Lloyd W. Steckel, 1904—1909.
Rev. John Knauer, 1904.
Rev. William Brenner, 1905—1906.
Rev. H. J. Matthias, 1905.
Rev. William C. Miller, 1905—1908.
Rev. L. J. Baker, 1905—1906.
Rev. Charles R. Dunlap, 1906—1907.
Rev. Edward P. Conrad, 1906.
Rev. Roger C. Kaufman, 1906.
Rev. Andrew M. Sappenfield, 1906—1908.
Rev. Curtis G. Stacy, 1906—1907.
Rev. John H. Wannemacher, 1906—1908.
Rev. V. J. Becker, 1907—1908.
Rev. N. Mattheis, 1907—1908.
Rev. Chas. L. Warstler, 1907.
Rev. C. A. Dennig, 1907.
Rev. H. N. Thompson, 1907.
Rev. F. E. Stough, 1907.
Rev. M. L. Stirewalt, 1907.
Rev. Wm. Hall, 1908.
Rev. Luther J. Smith, 1908.
Rev. F. C. Longaker, 1908.
Rev. E. H. Copenhaver, 1908.
Rev. H. J. Behrens, 1908.

There have been in connection with the synod to this date, October, 1908, 108 ministers. Of these eleven died, namely, Nathan Booher, E. S. Henkel, Eli Myers, J. M.

Harkey, Henry Fairchild, Frank C. C. Kaehler, Isaac Hursh, A. E. Gift, John Good, M. J. Stirewalt and J. M. G. Sappenfield.

The following congregations are, or have been, connected with the synod:

St. Mark's, Whitestown, Boone county, Indiana.
St. James', Montgomery county, Indiana.
Phanuel, Fountain county, Indiana.
Emmanuel, Fountain county, Indiana.
Philadelphia, Parke county, Indiana.
Fairhaven, Clinton county, Indiana.
† St. Paul's, Shelby county, Indiana.
† St. George's, Shelby county, Indiana.
* St. John's, Rush county, Indiana.
Union, Boone county, Indiana.
* St. Luke's, Boone county, Indiana.
* St. John's, Monroe county, Indiana.
* St. Paul's, Monroe county, Indiana.
St. Peter's, Newberry, Greene county, Indiana.
* Zion's, Daviess county, Indiana.
* Union, Daviess county, Indiana.
Mt. Zion, Knox county, Indiana.
Mt. Solomon, Harrison county, Indiana.
† Trinity, Goshen, Elkhart county, Indiana.
St. Paul's, Benton, Elkhart county, Indiana.
Zion's, E. Germantown, Wayne county, Indiana.
Salem, New Augusta, Marion county, Indiana.
Holy Trinity, Ft. Wayne, Allen county, Indiana.
† St. Mark's, Nokomis, Montgomery county, Illinois.
Zion's, Colburn, Tippecanoe county, Indiana.
Mt. Zion's (St. John's), Ovid, Madison county, Indiana.
St. Jacob's, Millville, Henry county, Indiana.
Union, Gila, Jasper county, Illinois.
St. Paul's, Tiosa, Fulton county, Indiana.
St. John's, Bruce Lake, Fulton county, Indiana.
St. James', Vandalia, Fayette county, Illinois.
St. James', Claremont, Richland county, Illinois.
* St. Paul's, Olney, Richland county, Illinois.
* Mt. Zion's, Martinsville, Clarke county, Illinois.

* St. Peter's, Osgood, Ripley county, Indiana.
* St. Stephens', Ashland township, Morgan county, Indiana.
† Trinity, Lancaster, Wabash county, Illinois.
* Mt. Zion's, Morgan county, Indiana.
First English, Goshen, Elkhart county, Indiana.
St. John's, Middletown, Henry county, Indiana.
First English, Decatur, Macon county, Illinois.
† St. John's, Spring Valley, McPherson county, Kansas.
* St. Mark's, near Muncie, Delaware county, Indiana.
St. Paul's, Syracuse, Kosciusko county, Indiana.
St. Paul's, Frankfort, Clinton county, Indiana.
† Zion's, Portland, Jay county, Indiana.
Emmanuel, near Nappanee, Kosciusko county, Indiana.
Bethel, Petit, Tippecanoe county, Indiana.
St. John's, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
St. John's, Anderson, Madison county, Indiana.
* St. Paul's, Eden, Hancock county, Indiana.
* St. John's, Hagerstown, Henry county, Indiana.
* North Union, Montgomery county, Indiana.
St. Peter's, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
Wicker Park, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
St. Mark's, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
St. Matthew's, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
St. James', Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
St. Luke's, Chicago, Cook connty, Illinois.
Epiphany, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
Atonement, Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.
Redeemer, Chicago (Austin), Cook county, Illinois.
Holy Trinity, Elgin, Kane county, Illinois.
Redeemer, Aurora, Kane county, Illinois.
Holy Trinity South Bend, St. Joseph county, Indiana.
First English, Mishawaka, St. Joseph county, Indiana.
† Hope, Crisman, Porter county, Indiana.
Holy Trinity, La Fayette, Tippecanoe county, Indiana.
St. John's, Nappanee, Kosciusko county, Indiana.
Our Saviour, Alexandria, Madison county, Indiana.
Zion's, Walnut Ridge, Allen county, Indiana.

NOTE.—Those marked * have, so far as the writer has been able to learn, become extinct. Those marked † left the synod.

St. John's, Hicksville, Defiance county, Ohio.
Lost Creek, near Hicksville, Defiance county, Ohio.
St. Paul's, Detroit, Michigan.
Christ's, Detroit, Michigan.
St. Paul's, West Liberty, Richland county, Illinois.
Reformation, Buckley, Illinois.
Ascension, Chicago Heights, Illinois.
Grace, Woodstock, Illinois.

The financial showing of the synod is commendable. The reports upon which our figures are based are very incomplete. The amounts actually contributed for the several objects enumerated are in excess of the figures here given; especially is this true of the general expense credits, and of the contributions of the Sunday schools. The expenditures were as follows: For local congregational expenses, from 1871 to 1896, inclusive, $235,999.19; from 1897 to 1906, inclusive, $310,116.66, a total of $546,115.85. Contributions by the Sunday schools from 1871 to 1896, inclusive, $6,353.98; from 1897 to 1906, inclusive, $27,812.99, total, $34,116.87. Contributed for home missions 1871 to 1896, $2,414.32; from 1897 to 1906, $14,454.96, total, $16,869.28. For foreign missions 1871 to 1896, $870.98; from 1897 to 1906, $2,503.70, total, $3,374.68. For all other objects, including educational institutions, orphan work, church extension, local benevolence, and current expenses, from 1871 to 1896, $11,846.27; from 1897 to 1906, $37,167.23, total, $43,013.50, making a grand total of $257,484.74 from 1871 to 1896, and $336,872.93 from 1896 to 1906, and a grand total for the thirty-five years of the synod's history, $643,490.18.

The numerical growth of the synod is indicated by the following statistics: In 1871 it had 8 pastors, 23 congregations and about 800 communicant members, and 4

Sunday schools. In 1896 it had 23 pastors, 37 congregations with 3,576 communicant members, 31 Sunday schools, with 343 teachers and 2,871 pupils. In 1872 the infant baptisms were 65, and accessions 36. In 1896 the infant baptisms were 159, and accessions 349. In 1906 the infant baptisms were 320 and accessions 689, and the number of pastors 39, congregations 57, with 5,783 communicant members, 48 Sunday schools, with 608 teachers, and 5,169 pupils. The total number of infant baptisms reported is 5,687; of accessions 10,607.

Summary of the Parochial Reports.

Year	Pastors	Congregations	Communicants	Infant Baptisms	Accessions	Sunday Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Contributions of Sunday Schools	Contributions for Local Objects	Contributions for Home Missions	Contributions for Foreign Missions	All other objects
1871	8	21	800										
1872	9	18	892	65	36	6				290 00			42 85
1873	14	35	1734	140	132	13	43	468		6708 00	5 00		1027 87
1874	16	38	1921	183	162	16	149	1265		9852 44			356 15
1875	16	40	2019	174	237	21	164	1370		9787 70			611 58
1876	16	40	1973	190	139	19	145	1290		13354 50			336 00
1877	15	39	2076	118	170	13	99	1105		7595 00			161 00
1878	15	45	2104	138	217	17	135	1180		2608 48			371 20
1879	16	25	1711	185	161	14	122	1100		835 00		16 80	371 15
1880	13	26	1954	82	158	17	129	1155		99 00			214 00
1881	14	28	2106	113	117	16	124	1076		4101 00			331 85
1882	12	28	1901	69	71	10	101	807		205 00			85 55
1883	13	26	2074	135	113	15	72	741		2845 00			315 50
1884	16	31	2156	139	122	15	88	947		274 55			337 95
1885	16	31	2258	164	304	18	134	1246		4647 28	65 00	20 00	424 33
1886	19	32	2419	138	308	21	155	1507		6766 73	85 50	30 00	352 70
1887	17	33	2506	139	379	25	176	2012		15853 77	179 53	55 00	583 52
1888	16	32	2737	151	265	20	150	1811		6075 00	37 71	22 00	338 94
1889	18	32	2811	62	316	14	137	1595		4637 00	234 00	50 00	448 91
1890	17	31	2939	123	279	19	162	1780		10184 59	15 00	14 00	615 80
1891	17	30	3107	224	348	19	174	2015	903 98	28261 30	151 60	53 25	668 60
1892	18	30	3129	131	217	19	172	1880	731 54	11775 02	151 48	75 56	626 48
1893	19	31	3128	153	340	24	177	2040	800 40	13566 02	89 40	103 85	850 00
1894	18	34	3244	147	369	30	226	2548	1166 48	20857 00	169 67	86 60	606 51
1895	19	33	3428	148	210	29	317	1524	1620 57	26869 72	563 77	157 40	1081 89
1896	23	37	3576	159	349	31	343	2871	1131 06	17980 07	666 66	186 52	863 93
1897	24	41	4033	152	232	35	412	3589	1256 29	17459 84	493 85	100 61	1719 79
1898	28	43	4051	172	298	38	378	3286	1610 36	16668 20	563 51	121 75	1057 09
1899	27	44	3879	119	274	44	418	3918	1995 49	19797 56	703 07	128 27	1474 21
1900	28	48	4002	200	373	39	464	3561	2268 99	32051 13	920 20	214 49	1647 18
1901	32	48	4083	161	433	39	439	3801	2858 42	25231 77	1096 89	263 33	2692 28
1902	33	48	4237	243	517	33	412	3614	2415 67	35137 97	1273 66	201 31	4077 91
1903	36	53	4669	212	641	41	491	4259	2917 66	40184 68	1568 55	212 11	2695 32
1904	37	53	5138	294	802	42	562	4694	3690 50	38833 14	2070 17	338 87	3466 39
1905	38	57	5435	344	853	49	586	4227	4688 38	42331 63	2643 37	522 73	3566 44
1906	39	57	5783	320	689	48	608	5169	4110 83	42416 74	3121 69	400 23	8873 62
1907	40	58	5981	364	725	49	616	5366	3863 68	40834 87	2823 66	468 96	4669 69
1908	37	59	6573	301	801	55		6188	3712 14	99143 73	2690 12	349 96	5510 12

PARSONAGE OF WICKER PARK CHURCH
Chicago, Illinois

ST. LUKE'S LUTHERAN CHURCH

Basement of New Church

Chicago, Illinois

Francisco and Marianna Ave.

CHOIR OF ST. LUKE'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
Chicago, Illinois

PARISH HOUSE ST. LUKE'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
Chicago, Illinois

PARSONAGE ST. LUKE'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
Chicago, Illinois

PASSAVANT MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

192 Superior St., Chicago, Illinois

THE INDIANA SYNOD

First Row: 1. Rev. R. E. McDaniel; 2. Rev. M. L. Wagner; 3. Rev. Jesse Dunn; 4. Rev. F. C. C. Kaehler; 5. Delegate; 6. Rev. Isaac Hursh; 7. Delegate; 8. Rev. J. M. G. Sappenfield; 9. Delegate.
Second Row: 1. Rev. A. V. House; 2. Rev. S. Wagenhals, D. D.; 3. Rev. M. J. Stirewalt, D. D.; 4. Rev. Chas. Koerner, D. D.; 5. and 6. Delegates; 7. Rev. A. E. Gilt.
Seated: 1. Rev. J. C. Barb; 2. Rev. J. D. Roth.

REV. ISAAK HURSH

REV. JOHN GRUBER

REV. HENRY FAIRCHILD

REV. J. M. SAPPENFIELD

REV. PAUL HENKEL AND WIFE ELIZABETH
REV. ANDREW HENKEL, REV. M. T. STIREWALT, D. D.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH
Claremont, Illinois

ZION'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
East Germantown, Indiana

ST. JACOB'S CHURCH
East Germantown Parish
Indiana

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH
Chicago, Illinois

TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH
LaFayette, Indiana

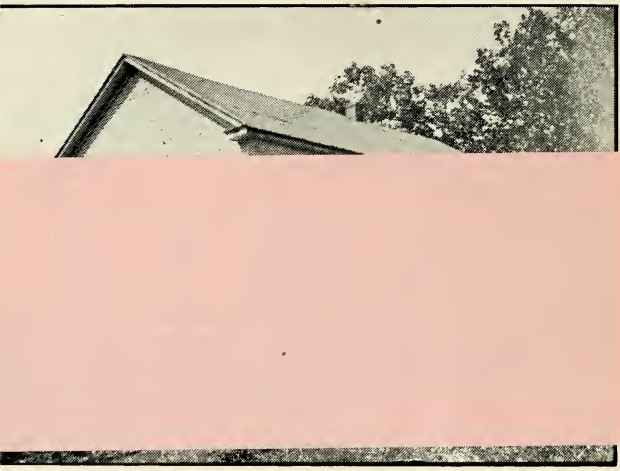
MT. SOLOMON LUTHERAN CHURCH

Corydon, Indiana

Errata.

On page 217, lines 10 and 11 from bottom should read:

Rev. M. M. Groves, 1868. *License* expired October 28, 1868.
Rev. R. E. McDaniel, 1870. *License* expired August 10, 1870.



MT. SOLOMON LUTHERAN CHURCH
Corydon, Indiana